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VOLUME XI, 2

CHAHÁR MAQÁLA

TRANSLATED BY
EDWARD G. BROWNE

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VOL. XI. 2

REVISED TRANSLATION
OF THE
CHAHĀR MAQĀLA

(“FOUR DISCOURSES”)

OF
NIZĀMÍ-I-‘ARŪDÍ
OF SAMARQAND,

FOLLOWED BY AN ABRIDGED TRANSLATION OF
MÍRZÁ MUḤAMMAD’S NOTES TO THE
PERSIAN TEXT

BY
EDWARD G. BROWNE,
M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P.

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ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,

and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philosophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death in his forty-fifth year, on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.

نَلِكْ آثَارُنَا تَدُلُّ عَلَيْنَا * فَانْظُرُوا بَعْدَنَا إِلَى الْآثَارِ

*"These are our works, these works our souls display;
Behold our works when we have passed away."*

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PREFACE

TWO reasons have led me to publish this revised translation of the *Chahár Maqála*, or "Four Discourses," of Nizámí-i-'Arúdí of Samarqand. The first is that the translation which I originally published in the July and October numbers of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1899, and which also appeared as a separate reprint, is exhausted, and is now hardly obtainable. The second is that that translation contains many defects and errors which it is now possible to amend and correct, partly through the learning and critical acumen brought to bear on the text by Mírzá Muḥammad of Qazwín, whose admirable edition, accompanied by copious critical and historical notes in Persian, was published in this Series (xi, 1) in 1910; and partly from the fact that the most ancient and correct MS. of the work at present discovered¹, that preserved in the Library of 'Áshir Efendi at Constantinople (No. 285), was not available when I made my original translation, while it has served as the basis for Mírzá Muḥammad's text. Hence my old translation is not only practically unobtainable, but, apart from the defects inherent in a first attempt of this sort, no longer entirely corresponds with what is now the accepted Persian text, so that it is at times liable to confuse and puzzle, rather than to help, the student. The old translation has been carefully revised throughout, and the proofs have all been read by Mírzá Muḥammad, who supplied many valuable criticisms, together with a good deal of new material in the notes. They have also been diligently read by Muḥammad Iqbál, one of the Government of India Research Students at Cambridge, who has made many useful suggestions and saved me from numerous small errors. To these and to other friends who have helped me in a lesser degree I am deeply indebted, but special thanks are due to Mr Ralph Shirley, editor

¹ It was copied in Herát in 835/1431-2.

of the *Occult Review*, and to Mr W. Gornold for the valuable astrological notes with which they have been kind enough to supply me¹. To facilitate comparison, the points in the translation corresponding with the beginning of each page of the Persian text are indicated by the appropriate Arabic numbers. Mírzá Muḥammad's notes, which in the original partake of the nature of a running commentary on the text, though materially separated from it, and occupy 200 pages (٩٠—٢٨٩), I have, from considerations of space, rearranged and greatly compressed. The shorter ones appear as foot-notes on the pages to which they refer, while the substance of the longer ones, reduced to a minimum, and shorn of many of the *pièces justificatives* which serve to illustrate them in the original, has been divided according to subject-matter under thirty-two headings, fully enumerated in the following Table of Contents. But although the English notes embody the more important results of Mírzá Muḥammad's researches, it has been necessary, in order to effect the required condensation, to omit many interesting details and quotations of texts accessible only in rare manuscripts, so that those who read Persian with any facility are strongly recommended to study the original commentary.

A full account of this work and its author is given both in the Persian and English Prefaces to the companion volume containing the text, and it will be sufficient here to summarize the facts set forth more fully in that place.

The Author.

Aḥmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alí of Samarqand, poetically named Nizámí and further entitled 'Arúḍí (the "Prosodist") flourished in the first half of the sixth century of the *hijra* (twelfth of the Christian era), and seems to have spent most of his life in Khurásán and Transoxiana. What we know of him is chiefly derived

¹ See Notes XXIV and XXXII, pp. 130-4 and 164-7.

from this book, which contains a good deal of autobiographical material. The events in his life to which he refers lie between the years 504/1110-1111 and 547/1152-3, and we find him successively at Samarqand, Balkh, Herát, Ṭús and Nishápúr. He was primarily a poet and courtier, but, as we learn from Anecdotes XXXI (p. 74) and XLIII (p. 96), he also practised Astrology and Medicine when occasion arose. His poetry, in spite of the complacency displayed by him in Anecdote XXI (pp. 59-61), was not, if we may judge by the comparatively scanty fragments which have survived, of the highest order, and is far inferior to his prose, which is admirable, and, in my opinion, almost unequalled in Persian. It is by virtue of the *Chahár Maqála*, and that alone, that Nizámí-i-'Arúfí of Samarqand deserves to be reckoned amongst the great names of Persian literature.

The Book.

At the present day, apart from the text printed eleven years ago in this series and the rare and bad lithographed edition¹ published at Tihrán in 1305/1887-8, the *Chahár Maqála*, so far as at present known, is represented only by three or four MSS., two in the British Museum (Or. 2955, dated 1274/1857-8, and Or. 3507, dated 1017/1608-9), and one in Constantinople transcribed at Herát in 835/1431-2, while a fourth, of which no particulars are available to me, is said to exist in India. During the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries of our era it seems to have been better known than during the four succeeding centuries, for it is mentioned or cited in the thirteenth century by 'Awfí (in the *Lubábu'l-Albáb*) and Ibn Isfandiyár (in his History of Ṭabaristán); in the fourteenth century by Ḥamdu'lláh Mustawfí of Qazwín (in the *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída*); in the fifteenth century by Dawlatsháh and Jámí (in the *Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab*); and in the sixteenth by the Qádí Aḥmad-i-Ghaffárí (*Nigáristán*). It is often referred to as the *Majma'u'n-Nawádir* ("Collection of Rarities"), which the

¹ Indicated by the letter L in a few of the foot-notes.

Turkish bibliographer Hájji Khalífa supposes to be distinct from the *Chahár Maqála*, though, as Mírzá Muḥammad has conclusively proved, these are but two different names for the same book.

Not less remarkable than the style of the *Chahár Maqála* is the interest of its contents, for it contains the only contemporary account of 'Umar Khayyám, and the oldest known account of Firdawsí, while many of the anecdotes are derived from the author's own experience, or were orally communicated to him by persons who had direct knowledge of the facts. The book is therefore one of the most important original sources for our knowledge of the literary and scientific conditions which prevailed in Persia for the two or three centuries preceding its composition, which may be placed with certainty between the years 547/1152 and 552/1157, and with great probability in the year 551/1156¹. Against this twofold excellence, however, must be set the extraordinary historical inaccuracies of which in several places the author has been guilty, even in respect to events in which he claims to have participated in person. Fifteen such blunders, some of them of the grossest character, have been enumerated by Mírzá Muḥammad in the Preface to the text², and some of these are fully discussed in Notes IV, V, VIII and XXI at the end of this volume. Nor can all these blunders be charitably ascribed to a careless or officious copyist, since the point of the story is in several cases dependent on the error.

Here at all events is the translation of the book, of the value and interest of which the reader, aided if necessary by the notes, can form his own judgement.

¹ See p. xvi of the English Preface to the text.

² Pp. xx-xxiii of the English Preface.

EDWARD G. BROWNE.

April 11, 1921.

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In the name of God the Merciful the Clement.

PRAISE, thanks and gratitude to that King who, by the intervention¹ of the Cherubic and Angelic Spirits, brought into being the World of Return and Restoration, and, by means of that World, created and adorned the World of Growth and Decay, maintaining it by the commands and prohibitions of the Prophets and Saints, and restraining it by the swords and pens of Kings and Ministers. And blessings upon [Muhammad] the Lord of both worlds, who was the most perfect of the Prophets; and invocations of grace upon his Family and Companions, who were the most excellent of Saints. And honour to the King of this time, that learned, just, divinely-strengthened, heaven-aided and ever-victorious monarch *Husámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín*, Help of Islám and the Muslims, Exterminator of the infidels and polytheists, Subduer of the heretical and the froward, Chief of hosts in the worlds, Pride of Kings and Emperors, Succourer of these days, Protector of mankind, Arm of the Caliphate, Beauty of the Faith and Glory of the Nation, Controller of the Arabs and the Persians, noblest of mankind, *Shamsu'l-Ma'ádt, Maliku'l-Umará*, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí ibn Mas'úd², Helper of the Prince of Believers, may his life be according to his desires, may the greater part of the world be assigned to his name, and may the orderly government of the human race be directed by his care! For to-day he is the most excellent of the kings of the age in nobility, pedigree, judgement, statesmanship, justice, equity, valour and generosity, as well as in the enriching of his territory, the embellishment of his realms, the maintenance of his friends, the subjugation of his foes, the raising of armies, the safe-guarding of the people, the securing of the roads, and the tranquillizing of the realms³, by virtue of upright judgement, clear understanding, strong resolve and firm determination; by whose excellence the concatenation of the House of Shansab⁴ is held together and maintained in order, and by whose perfection the strong arm of that Dynasty's fortune is strengthened and recognized. May God Almighty

¹ L. has *بلا توسط* "without the intervention."

² *I.e.* *Husámu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí ibn Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'úd*. See Note I at the end.

³ L. has *از مهالك* "from perils," instead of *ممالك*.

⁴ See Note I at the end, and the *Tabaqát-i-Nāṣirí* (ed. Nassau Lees), pp. 101 *et seqq.*

Instead of *Shansab*, the correct reading, B. has *انسانيت* and L. *آل شيب*.

vouchsafe to him and to the other kings of that line a full portion of dominion and domain, throne and fortune, fame and success, command and prohibition, by His Favour and universal Grace !

SECTION I.

It is an old custom and ancient convention, which custom is maintained and observed, that an author (ر) or compiler, in the introduction to his discourse and preface of his book, should commemorate somewhat of his patron's praise, and record some prayer on behalf of the object of his eulogy. But I, a loyal servant, instead of praise and prayer for this prince, will make mention in this book of the favours ordained and vouchsafed by God Most High and Most Holy to this King of kingly parentage, that, these being submitted to his world-illuminating judgement, he may betake himself to the expression of his thanks for them. For in the uncreated Scripture and unmade Word God says, "*Verily if ye be thankful I will give you increase*"¹; for the gratitude of the servant is an alchemy for the favours of the Munificent Lord. Briefly, then, it behoves this great King and puissant Lord to know that to-day, upon the whole of this globe of dust, and within the circle of this green parasol², there is no king in more ample circumstances than this monarch, nor any potentate enjoying more abundant good than this sovereign. He hath the gift of youth and the blessing of constant health; his father and mother are alive; congenial brothers are on his right hand and on his left. And what father is like his sire, the mighty, divinely-strengthened, ever-victorious and heaven-aided *Fakhr'u'd-Dawla wa'd-Din*³, Lord of Írán, King of the Mountains (may God prolong his existence and continue to the heights his exaltation!), who is the most puissant Lord of the age and the most excellent Prince of the time in judgement, statecraft, knowledge, courtesy, swordsmanship, strength of arm, treasure and equipment! Supported by ten thousand men bearing spears and handling reins he hath made himself a shield before his sons, so that not even the zephyr may blow roughly on one of his servants. In her chaste seclusion and unassailable abode is a prayerful lady (may God perpetuate her exaltation!) whose every invocation, breathed upwards at earliest dawn to the Court of God, works with the far-flung host and wheeling army. Where again is a brother like the royal Prince *Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Din*⁴, Light of Islám and the Muslims (may his victories be

¹ *Qur'an*, xiv, 7.

² The variant چرخ (wheel, firmament), though more attractive than چتر (parasol, umbrella), rests on weaker manuscript authority.

³ *Fakhr'u'd-Din Mas'ud ibn 'Izzu'd-Din Hasan*. See Note I at the end.

⁴ *Shamsu'd-Din Muhammad ibn Fakhr'u'd-Din Mas'ud*. See Note I at the end.

glorious!), who reaches the extreme term and limit in the service of this my Lord (whose exaltation may God perpetuate!)? Praise be to God that this my Lord falls short neither in reward nor retribution; yea, by his face the world enjoys clear vision, and life passes sweetly by his beauty! And a blessing yet greater is this, that the All-Perfect Benefactor and Unfailing Giver hath bestowed on him an uncle like the Lord of the World and Sovereign of the East, 'Alá'u'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥusayn¹, *Ikhtiyáru Amír'l-Mu'minín* (may God prolong his life and cause his kingdom to endure!), who, with fifty thousand mail-clad men, strenuous in endeavour, hurled back all the hosts of the world (✽) and set in a corner all the kings of the age. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) long vouchsafe all to one another, grant to all abundant enjoyment of one another's company, and fill the world with light by their achievements, by His Favour, and Bounty, and Grace!

BEGINNING OF THE BOOK.

This loyal servant and favoured retainer Ahmad ibn 'Umar ibn 'Alí an-Nizámí al-'Arúdí as-Samarqandí, who for forty-five years hath been devoted to the service of this House and inscribed in the register of service of this Dynasty, desireth to dedicate to the Supreme Imperial Court (may God exalt it!) some work equipped according to the canons of Philosophy with decisive proofs and trenchant arguments, and to set forth therein what kingship truly is, who is truly king, whence is derived this honourable office, to whom rightly appertaineth this favour, and in what manner such an one should shew his gratitude for, and after what fashion accept, this privilege, so that he may become second to the Lord of the sons of men² and third to the Creator of the Universe. For even so hath God, in His Incontrovertible Scripture and Eternal Word, co-ordinated on one thread and shewn forth on one string the pearls represented by these three exalted titles. *Obey God*," saith He, "*and obey the Apostle, and such as possess authority amongst yourselves*"³."

For in the grades of existences and the ranks of the intelligibles, after the Prophetic Function, which is the supreme limit of man's attainment, there is no rank higher than kingship, which is naught else than a Divine gift. God, glorious and exalted is He, hath accorded this position to the King of this age, and bestowed on him this degree, so that he may walk after the way of former kings and maintain the people after the manner of bygone ages.

¹ 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn, called *Jahán-súz*, "the world-consumer," A.H. 544-556 (A.D. 1149-1161). See Notes I and XV at the end, and p. 31, n. 1 *ad calc.*

² *I.e.* to the Prophet, who is subordinate only to God, as the king is to him.

³ *Qur'án*, iv, 62.

SECTION II.

The Royal Mind (may God exalt it!) should deign to know that all existing beings fall necessarily into one of two categories. Such being is either self-existent, or it exists through some other. That Being which is self-existent is called "*the Necessarily Existent*," which is God most High and most Holy, who existeth by virtue of Himself, and who, therefore, hath always existed, since He awaiteth none other; and who (†) will always exist, since He subsisteth by Himself, not by another. But that existence whose being is through another is called "*Contingent Being*," and this is such as we are, since our being is from the seed, and the seed is from the blood, and the blood is from food, and food is from the water, the earth and the sun, whose existence is in turn derived from something else; and all these are such as yesterday were not, and to-morrow will not be. And on profound reflection [it appeareth that] this causal nexus reacheth upwards to a Cause which deriveth not its being from another, but existeth necessarily in itself; which is the Creator of all, from Whom all derive their existence and subsistence. So He is the Creator of all these things, and all come into being through Him and subsist through Him. And a little reflection on this matter will make it clear that all Phenomena consist of Being tinctured with Not-being, while He is Being characterized by a continuance reaching from Eternity past to Eternity to come. And since the origin of all creatures lies in Not-being, they must inevitably return again to nothing, and the most clear-sighted amongst the human race have said, "*Everything shall return unto its Origin*," more especially in this world of Growth and Decay. Therefore we, who are contingent in our being, have our origin in Not-being; while He, who existeth necessarily, is in His Essence Being, even as He (glorious is His Praise and high His Splendour) saith in the Perspicuous Word and Firm Hand-hold, "*All things perish save His Countenance*¹."

Now you must know that this world, which lies in the hollow of the Heaven of the Moon² and within the circle of this first Sphere, is called "the World of Growth and Decay." And you must thus conceive it, that within the concavity of the Heaven of the Moon lies the Fire, surrounded by the Heaven of the Moon; and that within the Sphere of the Fire is the Air, surrounded by the Fire; and within the Air is the Water, surrounded by the Air, while within the Water is the Earth, with the Water round about it. And in the middle of the earth is an imaginary point, from

¹ *Qur'ān*, xxviii, 88.

² This is the lowest or innermost of the nine celestial spheres which environ the earth. Concerning the Muslim Cosmogony, see Dieterici's *Makrokosmos*, pp. 178 *et seqq.*

which all straight lines drawn to the Heaven of the Moon are equal ; and when we speak of "down," we mean this point or what lies nearest to it ; and when we speak of "up," we mean the remotest heaven, or what lies nearest to it, this being a heaven¹ above the Zodiacal Heaven, having naught beyond it, for with it the material world terminates, or comes to an end².

Now when God most Blessed and most High, by His effective Wisdom, desired to produce in this world minerals, plants, animals and men, He created the stars, and in particular the sun and moon, whereon He made the growth and decay of these to depend. And the special property of the sun is that (•) by its reflection it warms all things when it stands opposite to them, and draws them up, that is attracts them, by the medium of heat. So, by its opposition, it warmed the water ; and, by means of the warmth, attracted it for a long while, until one quarter of the earth's surface was laid bare, by reason of the much vapour which ascended and rose up therefrom. Now it is of the nature of water to be capable of becoming stone, as it is admitted to do in certain places, and as may be actually witnessed³. So mountains were produced from the water by the glow of the sun ; and thereby the earth became somewhat elevated above what it had been, while the water retreated from it and dried up, according to that fashion which is witnessed. This portion, therefore, is called the "Uncovered Quarter," for the reason above stated ; and is also called the "Inhabited Quarter," because animals dwell therein.

SECTION III.

When the influences of these stars had acted on the peripheries of these elements, and had been reflected back from that imaginary [central] point, there were produced from the midst of the earth and water, by the aid of the wind and the fire, the products of the inorganic world, such as mountains, mines, clouds, snow, rain, thunder, lightning, shooting stars, comets, meteors, thunder-bolts, halos, conflagrations, fulminations, earthquakes, and springs of all kinds, as has been fully explained in its proper place when discussing the effects of the celestial bodies, but for the explanation and amplification of which there is no room in this brief manual. But when time began, and the cycles of heaven became continuous, and the constitution of this lower world matured, and the time was come for the fertilisation of

¹ This outermost, or ninth, celestial sphere is the *Primum mobile* of the Ptolemaic system, called *al-Falaku'l-Atlas* or *Falaku'l-Afdk* by the Muslim philosophers.

² That the material universe is finite and bounded by the Empyrean, or *Falaku'l-Afdk*, is generally accepted by Persian philosophers. See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 143-144.

³ The author apparently alludes to petrification and the formation of stalactytes.

that interspace which lies between the water and the air, the vegetable kingdom was manifested. Then God, blessed and exalted is He, created for that substance wherefrom the plants were made manifest four subservient forces and three faculties. Of these four subservient forces one is that which draws to itself whatever is suitable for its purpose, and this is called "the Force Attractive" (*Jádhība*). Another retains what the first may have attracted, and this is called "the Force Retentive" (*Másika*). The third is that which assimilates what has been attracted, and transmutes it from its former state until it becomes like unto itself, and this is called "the Force Assimilative" (*Háđima*). The fourth is that which rejects what is not appropriate, and it is called "the Force Expulsive" (*Dáfi'a*). And of its three faculties one is that which increaseth it (١) by diffusing throughout it nutritious matters with a proportionate and equable diffusion. The second is that which accompanies this nutriment until it reaches the extremities. The third is that which, when the organism has attained perfection and begins to tend towards decline, appears and produces ova, in order that, if destruction overtake the parent in this world, this substitute may take its place, so that the order of the world may be immune from injury, and the species may not become extinct. This is called "the Reproductive Faculty" (*Quwwat-i-Muwallida*).

So this Kingdom rose superior to the inorganic world in these several ways which have been mentioned; and the far-reaching Wisdom of the Creator so ordained that these Kingdoms should be connected one with another successively and continuously, so that in the inorganic world the first material, which was clay, underwent a process of evolution and became higher in organisation until it grew to coral (*marján, bussad*), which is the ultimate term of the inorganic world¹ and is connected with the most primitive stage of plant-life. And the most primitive thing in the vegetable kingdom is the thorn, and the most highly developed the date-palm and the grape, which resemble the animal kingdom in that the former needs the male to fertilise it so that it may bear fruit², while the latter flees from its foe. For the vine flees from the bind-weed³, a plant which, when it twists round the vine, causes it to shrivel up, wherefore the vine flees from it. In the vegetable kingdom, therefore, there is nothing higher than the date-palm and the vine, inasmuch as they have assimilated themselves to that which is superior to their own kingdom, and have subtly overstepped the limits of their own world, and evolved themselves in a higher direction.

¹ The Pearl, however, seems generally to be placed higher. See Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 11.

² See Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 25.

³ *'Ashaqa*, a species of *Dolichos*. See Lane's Arabic Lexicon, s.v.

SECTION IV. *The Five External Senses.*

Now when this kingdom had attained perfection, and the influence of the "Fathers" of the upper world had reacted on the "Mothers" below, and the interspace between the air and the fire in its turn became involved¹, a finer offspring resulted and the manifestation of the animal world took place. This, bringing with it the faculties already possessed by the vegetable kingdom, added thereunto two others, one the faculty of discovery, which is called the "Perceptive Faculty" (*Mudrika*), whereby the animal discerns things; the second the power of voluntary movement, by the help of which the animal moves, approaching that which is congenial to it and retreating from that which is offensive, which is called the "Motor Faculty" (*Muharrika*).

Now the "Perceptive Faculty" is subdivided into ten branches, five of which are called the "External Senses," and five the "Internal Senses." The former are "Touch" (v), "Taste," "Sight," "Hearing," and "Smell." Now Touch is a sense distributed throughout the skin and flesh of the animal, so that the nerves perceive and discern anything which comes in contact with them, such as dryness and moisture, heat and cold, roughness and smoothness, harshness and softness. Taste is a sense located in that nerve which is distributed over the surface of the tongue, which detects soluble nutriments in those bodies which come in contact with it; and it is this sense which discriminates between sweet and bitter, sharp and sour, and the like of these. Hearing is a sense located in the nerve which is distributed about the auditory meatus, so that it detects any sound which is discharged against it by undulations of the air compressed between two impinging bodies, that is to say two bodies striking against one another, by the impact of which the air is thrown into waves and becomes the cause of sound, in that it imparts movement to the air which is stationary in the auditory meatus, comes into contact with it, reaches this nerve, and gives rise to the sensation of hearing. Sight is a faculty, located in the optic nerve which discerns images projected on the crystalline humour, whether of figures or solid bodies, variously coloured, through the medium of a translucent substance which extends from it to the surfaces of reflecting bodies. Smell is a faculty located in a protuberance situated in the fore part of the brain and resembling the nipple of the female breast, which apprehends

¹ By the "Seven Fathers above" and the "Four Mothers below," the seven planets and the four elements are intended.

² The four elemental spheres (terrestrial, aqueous, aerial and igneous) present three interspaces (*furja*), in the first of which is produced the mineral kingdom, in the second the vegetable, and in the third the animal. These three are called the "threefold offspring."

what the air inhaled brings to it of odours mingled with the vapours wafted by air-currents, or impressed upon it by diffusion from the odorific body.

SECTION V. *The Five Internal Senses*¹.

Now as to the Internal Senses, some are such as perceive the forms of things sensible, while others are such as apprehend their meanings. The first is the "Composite Sense" (*Hiss-i-mushtarik*), which is a faculty located in the anterior ventricles of the brain, and in its nature receptive of all images perceived by the external senses and impressed upon them to be communicated to it, such perception being apprehended only when received by it. The second is the Imagination (*Khayál*), a faculty located (λ) in the posterior portion of the anterior ventricle of the brain, which preserves what the "Composite Sense" has apprehended from the external senses, so that this remains in it after the subsidence of the sense-impressions. The third is the "Imaginative Faculty" (*Mutakhayyila*), thus called when animals are under discussion, but, in the case of the human soul, named the "Cogitative Faculty" (*Mutafakkira*). This is a faculty located in the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function it is to combine or separate, as the mind may elect, those particular percepts which are stored in the Imagination. The fourth is the "Apprehensive Faculty" (*Wahm*), which is a faculty located in the posterior portion of the middle ventricle of the brain, whose function is to discover the supra-sensual ideas existing in particular percepts, such as that faculty whereby the kid distinguishes between its dam and a wolf, and the child between a spotted rope and a serpent. The fifth is the "Retentive Faculty" (*Háfiza*), also called the "Memory" (*Dhákira*), which is a faculty located in the posterior ventricle of the brain. It preserves those supra-sensual ideas discovered by the "Apprehension"; between which and itself the same relation subsists as between the "Imagination" and the "Composite Sense," though the latter preserves forms, and the former ideas.

Now all these are the servants of the "Animal Soul," a substance having its well-spring in the heart, which, when it acts in the heart, is called the "Animal Spirit," but when in the brain, the "Psychic Spirit," and when in the liver, the "Natural Spirit." It is a subtle vapour which rises from the blood, diffuses itself to the remotest arteries, and resembles the sun in luminosity. Every animal which possesses these two faculties, the Perceptive and the Motor, and these ten subordinate faculties derived therefrom, is called a perfect animal; but if any faculty is lacking in it, defective. Thus the ant has no eyes, and the snake, which is

¹ See my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 144-145.

called the deaf adder, no ears; but none is more defective than the maggot, which is a red worm found in the mud of streams¹, called therefore *gil-khwāra* ("mud-eater"), but in Transoxiana *ghāk-kirma*². This is the lowest animal, while the highest is the satyr (*nasnās*)³, a creature inhabiting the plains of Turkistán, of erect carriage and vertical stature, with wide flat nails. It cherishes a great affection for men; wherever it sees men, it halts on their path and examines them attentively; and when it finds a solitary man, it carries him off, and it is even said that it will conceive from him. This, after (¶) mankind, is the highest of animals, inasmuch as in several respects it resembles man; first in its erect stature; secondly in the breadth of its nails; and thirdly in the hair of its head.

ANECDOTE I.

I heard as follows from Abú Ridá ibn 'Abdu's-Salám of Níshápúr in the Great Mosque at Níshápúr, in the year 510/1116-1117:—"We were travelling towards Tamgháj⁴, and in our caravan were several thousand camels. One day, when we were marching in the mid-day heat, we saw on a sand-hill a woman, bare-headed and quite naked, extremely beautiful in form, with a figure like a cypress, a face like the moon, and long hair, standing and looking at us. Although we spoke to her, she made no reply; and when we approached her, she fled, running so swiftly in her flight that probably no horse could have overtaken her. Our muleteers, who were Turks, said that this was a wild man, such as they call *nasnās*." And you must know that this is the noblest of animals in these three respects which have been mentioned.

So when, in the course of long ages and by lapse of time, equilibrium became more delicately adjusted, and the turn came of the interspace which is between the elements and the heavens⁵, man came into being, bringing with him all that existed in the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms, and adding thereunto the capacity for abstract concepts. So by reason of in-

¹ Cf. Dieterici's *Mikrokosmos*, p. 43.

² The correct reading of this word, which appears in a different form in each MS., is doubtful, and it is probably a local term only. Mirzá Muḥammad takes *ghāk-kirma* as equivalent to *kirm-i-khāk*, "earthworm."

³ The term *nasnās* either denotes a real animal or a fabulous monster. In the first sense it is used of various kinds of monkeys, e.g. the orang-outang and marmoset; in the latter it is equivalent to the *Shiqq* or Half-man (which resembles a man cut in two vertically) of the Arabs, and the *Dfo-mardum* of the Persians. See Qazwini's *'Ajā'ibul-Makhlūqāt*, p. 449; and my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 165, 267.

⁴ See Qazwini's *Athāru'l-Bilād*, p. 275. China or Chinese Turkistán appears to be meant. See Note II at the end.

⁵ See n. 2 at the foot of p. 7 *supra*. This fourth interspace (*furja*) lies outside the "Igneous Sphere" and inside the "Heaven of the Moon."

telligence he became king over all animals, and brought all things under his control. Thus from the mineral world he made jewels, gold and silver his adornment; from iron, zinc, copper, lead and tin he fashioned his utensils and vessels; from the vegetable kingdom he made his food, raiment and bedding; and from the animal world he obtained for himself steeds and beasts of burden. And from all three kingdoms he chose out medicaments wherewith to heal himself. Whereby did there accrue to him such pre-eminence? By this, that he understood abstract ideas, and, by means of these, recognized God. And whereby did he know God? By knowing himself; for "*He who knoweth himself, knoweth his Lord.*"

So this kingdom [of man] became divided into three classes. The first is that which is proximate to the Animal Kingdom, such as the wild men of the waste and the mountain, whose aspiration doth not more than suffice to secure their own livelihood by seeking what is to their advantage and warding off what is to their detriment. The second class compriseth the inhabitants of towns and cities, who possess civilisation, power of co-operation, (۱۰) and aptitude to discover crafts and arts; but whose scientific attainments are limited to the organisation of such association as subsists between them, in order that the different classes¹ may continue to exist. The third class compriseth such as are independent of these things, and whose occupation, by night and by day, in secret and in public, is to reflect, "Who are we, for what reason did we come into existence, and Who hath brought us into being?" In other words, they hold debate concerning the real essences of things, reflect on their coming, and anxiously consider their departure, saying, "How have we come? Whither shall we go?"

This class, again, is subdivided into two sorts; first, those who reach the essence of this object by the help of masters and by laborious toil, voracious study, reading and writing; and such are called "Philosophers." But there is yet another sort who, without master or book, reach the extreme limit of this problem, and these are called "Prophets."

Now the peculiar virtues of the Prophet are three:—first, that, without instruction, he knows all knowledges²; secondly, that he gives information concerning yesterday and to-morrow otherwise than by analogical reasoning; and thirdly, that he hath such psychical power that from whatever body he will he taketh the form and produceth another form, which thing none can do save such as are conformed to the Angelic World. Therefore in the Human World none is above him, and his command

¹ Or perhaps "races." The word is انواع, plural of نوع, "species."

² This is what is called 'Ilm-i-Ladunni, or knowledge directly derived from God.

is effective for the well-being of the world; for whatever others have, he has, while possessing also an additional qualification which they have not, that is to say communication with the Angelic World. This additional qualification is in brief termed the "Prophetic Function," and is in detail such as we have explained.

Now so long as such a man lives, he points out to his people what things conduce to well-being in both worlds, by the Command of God, glorious is His Name, communicated to him by means of the Angels. But when, by natural dissolution, he turns his face towards the other world, he leaves behind him as his representative a Code derived from the indications of God Almighty and his own sayings¹. And assuredly he requires, to maintain his Law and Practice, a vice-gerent who must needs be the most excellent of that community and the most perfect product of that age, in order that he may maintain this Law and give effect to this Code; and such an one is called an "Imám." But this Imám cannot reach the horizons of the East, the West, the North and the South in such wise that the effects of his care may extend alike to the most remote and the nearest, and his command and prohibition may reach at once the intelligent and the ignorant. Therefore must he needs have vicars to act for him in distant parts of the world, and not every one of these will have such power that all mankind shall be compelled to acknowledge it. Hence there must be an administrator and compeller, which administrator and compeller is called a "Monarch," that is to say, a king; and his vicarious function "Sovereignty." The king, therefore, is the lieutenant of the Imám, the Imám of the Prophet, and the Prophet of God (mighty and glorious is He!). Well has Firdawsí said on this subject:—(۱۱)

چنان دان كه شاهى و پيغمبرى ' دو گوهر بود در يك انگشترى '

*"Then learn that the functions of Prophet and King
Are set side by side like two stones in one ring."*

The Lord of the sons of men² himself hath said, "*Church and State are twins*," since in form and essence neither differs from the other, either as regards increase or defect. So, by virtue of this decree, no burden, after the Prophetic Office, is weightier than Sovereignty, nor any function more laborious than that of governing. Hence a king needs round about him, as men on whose counsel, judgement and deliberations depend the loosing and binding of the world, and the well-being and ill-being of the servants of God Almighty, such as are in every respect the most excellent and most perfect of their time.

¹ I.e. the Scripture and the Traditions, in the case of the Prophet Muḥammad the *Qur'án* and the *Hadith*.

² I.e. the Prophet Muḥammad.

Now of the servants essential to kings are the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer and the Physician, with whom he can in no wise dispense. For the maintenance of the administration is by the Secretary; the perpetuation of immortal renown by the Poet; the ordering of affairs by the Astrologer; and the health of the body by the Physician. These four arduous functions and noble arts are amongst the branches of the Science of Philosophy; the functions of the Scribe and the Poet being branches of the Science of Logic; that of the Astrologer, one of the principal subdivisions of Mathematics; while the Physician's Art is amongst the branches of Natural Science. This book, therefore, comprises *Four Discourses*, to wit :—

First Discourse, on the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the eloquent and perfect Secretary.

Second Discourse, on the essence of the Poetic Art, and the aptitude of the Poet.

Third Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Astrology, and the competence of the Astrologer in that Science.

Fourth Discourse, on the essence of the Science of Medicine, and the direction and disposition of the Physician.

Such philosophical considerations as are germane to this Book will therefore be advanced at the beginning of each Discourse; and thereafter ten pleasing anecdotes, of the choicest connected with that subject and the rarest appropriate to that topic, of what hath befallen persons of the class under discussion, will be adduced, in order that it may become plainly known to the King that the Secretarial Office is not a trivial matter; that the Poetic Calling is no mean occupation; that Astrology is a necessary Science; that Medicine is an indispensable Art; and that the wise King cannot do without these four persons, the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer, and the Physician.

(1) FIRST DISCOURSE.

On the essence of the Secretarial Art, and the nature of the perfect Secretary and what is connected therewith.

The Secretarial Function is an art comprising analogical methods of rhetoric and communication, and teaching the forms of address employed amongst men in correspondence, consultation, contention, eulogy, condemnation, diplomacy, conciliation and provocation, as well as in magnifying matters or minimising them; contriving means of excuse or censure; imposing covenants; recording precedents; and displaying in every case orderly arrangement of the subject matter, so that all may be enunciated in the best and most suitable manner.

Hence the Secretary must be of gentle birth, of refined honour, of penetrating discernment, of profound reflection, and of piercing judgement; and the amplest portion and fullest share of literary culture and its fruits must be his. Neither must he be remote from, or unacquainted with, logical analogies; and he must know the ranks of his contemporaries, and be familiar with the dignities of the leading men of his time. Moreover he should not be absorbed in the wealth and perishable goods of this world; nor concern himself with the approval or condemnation of persons prejudiced in his favour or against him, or be misled by them; and he should, when exercising his secretarial functions, guard the honour of his master from degrading situations and humiliating usages. And in the course of his letter and tenour of his correspondence he should not quarrel with honourable and powerful personages; and, even though enmity subsist between his master and the person whom he is addressing, he should restrain his pen, and not attack his honour, save in the case of one who may have overstepped his own proper limit, or advanced his foot beyond the circle of respect, for they say:—“*One for one, and he who begins is most in the wrong*”¹.

Moreover in his forms of address he should observe moderation, writing to each person that which his family pedigree, kingdom, domain, army, and treasure indicate; save in the case of one who may himself have fallen short in this matter, or made display of undue pride, or neglected some point of courtesy, or manifested a familiarity which reason cannot regard otherwise than as misplaced in such correspondence, and unsuitable to epistolary communications. In such cases it is permitted and allowed to the Secretary to take up his pen, set his best foot forward, (۱۲) and in this pass go to the extreme limit and utmost bound, for the most perfect of mankind and the most excellent of them (upon him be the Blessings of God and His Peace) says:—“*Haughtiness towards the haughty is a good work*”². But in no case must he suffer any dust from the atmosphere of recrimination in this arena of correspondence to alight on the skirt of his master's honour; and in the setting forth of his message he must adopt that method whereby the words shall subserve the ideas and the matter be briefly expressed; for the orators of the Arabs have said, “*The best speech is that which is brief and significant, [not long and wearisome]*”³. For if the ideas be subordinated to the

¹ واحدةٌ بواحدةٍ و البادئ اظلم، i.e. “Tit for tat, and the aggressor is most to blame.”

² التكبر مع المتكبر صدقة،

³ خَيْرُ الْكَلَامِ مَا قَلَّ وَ دَلَّ وَ لَمْ يَطْلُ فِيمِلَّ، The printed text omits the last words.

words, the discussion will be protracted, and the writer will be stigmatised as prolix, and "*He who is prolix is a babbler*."

Now the words of the Secretary will not attain to this elevation until he acquires some knowledge of every science, obtains some hint from every master, hears some aphorism from every philosopher, and borrows some elegance from every man of letters. Therefore he must accustom himself to peruse the Scripture of the Lord of Glory, the Traditions of Muḥammad the Chosen One, the Memoirs of the Companions, the proverbial sayings of the Arabs, and the wise words of the Persians; and to read the books of the ancients, and to study the writings of their successors, such as the *Correspondence* of the Šāhib [Isma'īl, ibn 'Abbād]², Šābī and Qábús³; the compositions of Hamādī, Imāmī and Qudāma⁴ ibn Ja'far; the *Gests* of Badī' [u'z-Zamān al-Hamadānī]⁵, al-Harīrī⁶ and al-Ḥamīdī⁶; the *Rescripts* of al-Bal'amī⁷, Aḥmad-i-Hasan⁸ and Abú Naṣr Kundurī⁹; the *Letters* of Muḥammad 'Abduḥ, 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, and the Sayyidu'r-Ru'asá; the *Séances* of Muḥammad-i-Manšūr¹⁰, Ibn 'Abbādī¹¹ and Ibnu'n-Nassāba the descendant of 'Alī; and, of the poetical works of the Arabs, the *Dīwāns* of Mutanabbī¹², Abīwardī¹³ and Ghazzī¹⁴; and, amongst the Persian poets, the poems of Rūdagī¹⁵, the Epic of Firdawsi¹⁶, and the panegyrics of 'Unsurī¹⁷; since each one of these works which I have enumerated was, after its kind, the incomparable and unique product of its time; and every writer who hath these books and doth not fail to read them, stimulates his mind,

١ المكنز مهذار

² See the *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr* (ed. Damascus), vol. iii, pp. 31-112; de Slane's *Ibn Khallikān*, vol. i, pp. 212-217, and Note III at the end. L. omits Šābī.

³ The *Tarassul*, or Correspondence, of Qábús ibn Washmgīr, the Ziyārid Prince of Tabaristān, who was killed in 403/1012-13. See p. 95 of the Persian notes.

⁴ See von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, i, pp. 269-270.

⁵ See von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 470-476; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i, pp. 93-94 and 276-278.

⁶ See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 747-748, where a very fine old MS. of the *Maqāmat-i-Ḥamīdī* is described, written in the 13th cent. of our era.

⁷ Abú 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bal'amī (d. 386/996).

⁸ The Ghaznawī minister, Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan of Maymand (d. 424/1033).

⁹ See de Slane's *Ibn Khallikān*, vol. iii, pp. 290-295.

¹⁰ Probably Muḥammad ibn Manšūr al-Ḥaddād. See *H. Kh.*, No. 1729.

¹¹ Abú 'Asim Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-'Abbādī (see Rieu's *Arabic Suppl.*, p. 755), who died in 458/1066, is probably intended.

¹² See von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, ii, pp. 380-381; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i, pp. 86-89.

¹³ See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, i, p. 253; and the *Yatīma*, vol. iv, pp. 25 and 62-64, where mention is made of this well-known Abīwardī (whose *Dīwān* has been printed at Beyrout) and another.

¹⁴ Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, i, p. 253. A., however, reads عزی.

¹⁵ See Ethé's monograph and also his article s.v. in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

¹⁶ See especially Nöldeke's *Das Iranische Nationalepos* in vol. ii (pp. 130-211) of Geiger and Kuhn's *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*.

¹⁷ See Ethé in the same *Grundriss*, pp. 224-225.

polishes his wit, enkindles his fancy, and ever raises the level of his diction, whereby a Secretary becomes famous.

Now if he be well acquainted with the *Qur'án*, with one verse therefrom he may discharge his obligation to a whole realm, as did Iskáfí¹.

ANECDOTE II.

Iskáfí¹ was one of the secretaries of the House of Sámán (may God have mercy on him), and knew his craft right well, so that he could cunningly traverse the heights, and emerge triumphant from the most difficult passes. He discharged the duties of secretary in the Chancellery of Núḥ ibn Maṣṣūr², but they did not properly recognize his worth, or bestow on him favours commensurate with his pre-eminence (١٤). He therefore fled from Bukhárá to Alptagín at Herát. Alptagín, a Turk, wise and discerning, made much of him, and confided to him the Chancellery, and his affairs prospered. Now because there had sprung up at the court a new nobility who made light of the old nobles, Alptagín, though he patiently bore their presumption [for a while], was finally forced into rebellion, by reason of some slight put upon him at the instigation of a party of these new nobles. Then Amír Núḥ wrote from Bukhárá to Zábulistán that Subuktigín should come with that army, and the sons of Símjūr³ from Níshápúr, and should oppose and make war on Alptagín. And this war is very celebrated, and this momentous battle most famous.

So when these armies reached Herát, the Amír Núḥ sent 'Alí ibn Muhtáj⁴ al-Kashání, who was the Chief Chamberlain (*Hájibu'l-Báb*), to Alptagín with a letter [fluent] like water and [scathing] like fire, all filled with threats and fraught with menaces which left no room for peace and no way for conciliation, such as an angry master might write from a distance to his disobedient servants on such an occasion and in such a crisis, the whole letter filled with such expressions as "I will come," "I will take," "I will slay." When the Chamberlain Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí ibn Muhtáj al-Kashání submitted this letter and delivered this message, withholding nothing, Alptagín, who was already vexed,

¹ Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí ibn Muḥammad al-Iskáfí. See *Yatima*, vol. iv, pp. 29-33, and iii, 4.

² This seems to be an error (though it stands thus in all three copies) for Maṣṣūr ibn Núḥ (Maṣṣūr I), who reigned A.H. 350-366; for Núḥ ibn Maṣṣūr (Núḥ II) reigned A.H. 366-387, and Alptagín died in A.H. 352 or 354. Concerning the *Ditwánu'r-Rasá'il* see von Kremer's *Culturgesch.*, i, pp. 174, 200; and A. de B. Kazimirski's *Menoutchehri*, pp. 36 and 43. According to Ibnu'l-Athír (Buláq ed. of A.H. 1303, vol. viii, p. 179), Alptagín's revolt took place in A.H. 351, when Iskáfí was already dead. See p. ١٠٢ of the Persian notes and Note IV at end of this volume.

³ See Defrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, p. 260-261.

⁴ Concerning this general, see Defrémery's *Hist. des Samanides*, pp. 247-248.

grew more vexed, and broke out in anger, saying, "I was his father's servant, but when my master passed from this transitory to that eternal abode, he entrusted him to me, not me to him. Although, to outward seeming, I should obey him, when you closely examine this matter a contrary conclusion results, seeing that I am in the last stages of old age, and he in the first stages of youth. Those who have impelled him to act thus are destroyers of this Dynasty, not counsellors, and are overthrowers of this House, not supporters."

Then in extreme ill-temper he instructed Iskáfí saying, "When thou answerest this letter omit no detail of disrespect; and I desire that thou shouldst write the answer on the back of the letter." So Iskáfí answered it on the spur of the moment, and first wrote as follows:

"In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement. O Núh, thou hast contended with us and made great the contention with us. Produce, then, that wherewith thou threatenest us, if thou art of those who speak truly".

When this letter reached Núh ibn Mansúr the Amír of Khurásán, he read it, and was astonished; and all the gentlemen of the Court were filled with amaze, and the scribes bit their fingers [in wonder]. And when the affair of Alptagín was disposed of, Iskáfí fled away privily, for he was fearful and terrified; until suddenly Núh sent a messenger to summon him to his presence, and conferred on him the post of Secretary (۱۰). So his affairs prospered, and he became honoured and famous amongst the votaries of the Pen. Had he not known the *Qur'án* well, he would not have hit upon this verse on that occasion, nor would his position have risen from that degree to this limit.

ANECDOTE III.

When Iskáfí's affairs waxed thus prosperous, and he became established in the service of the Amír Núh ibn Mansúr, Mákán son of Kákúy² rebelled at Ray and in Kúhistán, withdrew his neck from the yoke of obedience, sent his agents to Khwár and Simnak, captured several of the towns of Kúmish³, and paid no heed to the Sámánids. Núh ibn Mansúr was afraid, because this was a formidable and able man, and set himself to deal with this matter. He therefore ordered Tásh, the Commander-in-chief, to

¹ *Qur'án*, xi, 34.

² The chronological difficulties involved in these two stories are considerable, for the rebellion of Mákán ibn Kákúy occurred in 329/940-1, towards the end of the reign of Naşr II ibn Aĥmad, *i.e.* long before the rebellion of Alptagín (see n. 2 on p. 15 *supra*). See Deffrémery's *Samanides*, pp. 248 and 263-264. See Notes IV and V at the end.

³ Better known as *Qúmís*, the arabicised form of the name. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Histor., et Litt. de la Perse*, pp. 454-455. For the three other towns mentioned, see the same work, pp. 213, 317 and 318.

march against him with seven thousand horsemen, suppress this rebellion, and put an end to this formidable insurrection in whatever way he deemed most expedient.

Now Tásh was mighty sagacious and clear in judgement, rashly involving himself in and skilfully extricating himself from the straitest passes; ever victorious in warfare, and never turning back disappointed from any enterprize, nor defeated from any campaign. While he lived, the dominion of the House of Sámán enjoyed the greatest brilliancy, and their affairs the utmost prosperity.

On this occasion, then, the Amír, being mightily preoccupied and distressed in mind, sent a messenger to summon Iskáfí, and held a private interview with him. "I am greatly troubled," said he, "by this business; for Mákán is a brave man, endowed with courage and manhood, and hath both ability and generosity, so that there have been few like him amongst the Daylamís. You must co-operate with Tásh, and whatever is lacking to him in military strength at this crisis, you must make good by your counsels. And I will establish myself at Níshápúr, so that the army may be supported from the base, and the foeman discouraged. Every day a swift messenger with a concise despatch¹ from you must come to me and in this you must set forth the pith of what may have happened, so that my anxieties may be assuaged." Iskáfí bowed and said, "I will obey."

So next day Tásh unfurled his standard, sounded his drums, and set out for the front from Bukhárá, crossing the Oxus with seven thousand horsemen; while the Amír followed him with the remainder of the army to Níshápúr. There he invested Tásh and the army with robes of honour; and Tásh marched out and entered Bayhaq, and went forth into Kúmish setting his face (۱) towards Ray with fixed purpose and firm resolve.

Meanwhile Mákán, with ten thousand mailed warriors, was encamped at the gates of Ray, which he had made his base. Tásh arrived, passed by the city, and encamped over against him. Then messengers began to pass to and fro between them, but no settlement was effected, for Mákán was puffed up with pride on account of that high-hearted army which he had gathered together from every quarter. It was therefore decided that they should join battle.

Now Tásh was an old wolf who for forty years had held the position of Commander-in-chief, and had witnessed many such engagements; and he so arranged it that when the two armies confronted one another, and the doughty warriors and champions

¹ Mirzá Muḥammad (p. ۱۰۶ of the Persian notes) has investigated the precise meaning of the word *mulattafa*, here translated "concise despatch," and shews by quotations that it is used for a minutely and concisely written note capable of being easily concealed and secretly carried.

of the army of Transoxiana and Khurásán moved forward from the centre, only half of Mákán's army was engaged, while the rest were not fighting. Mákán was slain, and Tásh, when he had ceased from taking and binding and slaying, turned to Iskáfí and said, "A carrier-pigeon must be sent in advance, to be followed later by a courier; but all the main features of the battle must be summed up in one sentence, which shall indicate all the circumstances, yet shall not exceed what a pigeon can carry, and shall adequately express our meaning."

Then Iskáfí took so much paper as two fingers would cover and wrote:—"As for Mákán, he hath become as his name"¹ [*Mákán* = "He hath not been" in Arabic]. By this "*má*" he intended the negative, and by "*kán*" the preterite of the verb, so that the Persian of it would be, "Mákán hath become like his name," that is to say, hath become nothing.

When the carrier-pigeon reached the Amír Núh, he was not more delighted at this victory than at this despatch, and he ordered Iskáfí's salary to be increased, saying, "Such a person must maintain a heart free from care in order to attain to such delicacies of expression²."

ANECDOTE IV.

One who pursues any craft which depends on reflection ought to be free from care and anxiety, for if it be otherwise the arrows of his thought will fly wide and will not be concentrated on the target of achievement, since only by a tranquil mind can one arrive at such diction.

It is related that a certain secretary of the 'Abbásid Caliphs was writing a letter to the governor of Egypt; and, his mind being tranquil and himself submerged in the ocean of reflection, was forming sentences precious as pearls of great price and fluent as running water. Suddenly his maid-servant entered, saying, "There is no flour left." The scribe was so put out and disturbed in mind (۱۷) that he lost the thread of his theme, and was so affected that he wrote in the letter "There is no flour left." When he had finished it, he sent it to the Caliph, having no knowledge of these words which he had written.

When the letter reached the Caliph, and he read it, and arrived at this sentence, he was greatly astonished, being unable to account for so strange an occurrence. So he sent a messenger to summon the scribe, and enquired of him concerning this. The scribe was covered with shame, and gave the true explanation of the matter. The Caliph was mightily astonished and said, "The

¹ *أَمَّا مَا كَانَ فَصَارَ كَأَسْمِهِ*

² The substance of this anecdote is given in the *Tārīkh-i-Guzāda*, and is cited by Defrémery at pp. 247-248 of his *Histoire des Samanides* (Paris, 1845).

beginning of this letter surpasses and excels the latter part by as much as the *sūra* 'Say, He is God, the One' excels the *sūra* 'The hands of Abū Lahab shall perish', and it is a pity to surrender the minds of eloquent men like you into the hands of the struggle for the necessities of life." Then he ordered him to be given means sufficiently ample to prevent such an announcement as this ever entering his ears again. Naturally it then happened that he could compress into two sentences the ideas of two worlds.

ANECDOTE V.

The Šāhib Isma'īl ibn 'Abbād³, entitled *al-Kāfi* ("the Competent") of Ray was minister to the Shāhanshāh⁴. He was most perfect in his accomplishments, of which fact his correspondence and his poetry are two sufficient witnesses and unimpeachable arbiters.

Now the Šāhib was a Mu'tazilite⁵, and such are wont to be extremely pious and scrupulous in their religious duties, holding it right that a true believer should abide eternally in hell by reason of a grain of unrighteousness; and his servants, retainers and agents for the most part held the same opinion that he did.

Now there was at Qum a judge appointed by the Šāhib in whose devoutness and piety he had a firm belief, though one after another men asserted the contrary. All this, however, left the Šāhib unconvinced, until two trustworthy persons of Qum, whose statements commanded credence, declared that in a certain suit between So-and-so and Such-an-one this judge had accepted a bribe of five hundred *dinārs*. This was mightily displeasing to the Šāhib for two reasons, first on account of the greatness of the bribe, and secondly on account of the shameless unscrupulousness of the judge. He at once took up his pen and wrote:

"*In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement. O Judge of Qum! We dismiss you, (۱۸) so Come⁶!*"

Scholars and rhetoricians will notice and appreciate the high merit of this sentence in respect to its concision and clearness, and naturally from that time forth rhetoricians and stylists have inscribed this epigram on their hearts, and impressed it on their minds.

¹ *Qur'an*, cxii.

² *Qur'an*, cxi.

³ For an account of this great minister and generous patron of literature, see de Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikān*, vol. i, pp. 212-217, and Note VI at end.

⁴ This old Persian title "King of kings" was borne by several of the House of Buwayh. Here either Mu'ayyidu'd-Dawla or his brother Fakhru'd-Dawla is intended.

⁵ This, as Mirzā Muḥammad points out on p. ۱۰۹ of the Persian notes, is the meaning of '*adlī madhhab*'. The followers of this doctrine, called by their adversaries *al-Mu'tazila*, "the Seceders," called themselves "Partisans of the Divine Justice and Unity." See my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, p. 281.

⁶ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ أَيُّهَا الْقَاضِي بَقَرٌ قَدْ عَزَلْنَاكَ فَقَرٌ. I have endeavoured to preserve, feebly enough, the word-play in the original.

ANECDOTE VI.

Lamghán¹ is a city in the district of Sind, one of the dependencies of Ghazna ; and at this present time one lofty mountain separates its inhabitants from the heathen, so that they live in constant dread of the attacks and raids of the unbelievers. Yet the men of Lamghán are of good courage, hardy and thrifty, and combining with their hardiness no small truculence, to such a degree that they think nothing of lodging a complaint against a tax-gatherer on account of a maund of chaff or a single egg ; while for even less than this they are ready to come to Ghazna to complain of exactions, and to remain there one or two months, and not to return without having accomplished their object. In short they have a strong hand in obstinacy, and much back-bone in importunity.

Now in the reign of Sultán Maḥmúd *Yamīnu'd-Dawla* (may God illuminate his proof!), the heathen one night attacked them, and damage of every sort befel them. But these were men who could roll in the dust² without soil ; and when this event happened several of their chiefs and men of note rose up and came to the court of Ghazna, and, with their garments rent, their heads uncovered, and uttering loud lamentations, entered the bazaar of Ghazna, went to the King's Palace wailing and grieving, and so described their misfortune that even a stone would have been moved to tears. As their truculence, impudence, dissimulation and cunning had not yet become apparent, that great minister, Aḥmad-i-Ḥasan of Maymand³, took pity upon them, and forgave them that year's taxes, exempting them from all exactions, and bidding them return home, strive more strenuously, and spend less, so that by the beginning of next year they might recover their former position.

So the deputation of Lamghánis returned with great contentment and huge satisfaction, and continued during that year in the easiest of circumstances, giving nothing to any one⁴. When the year came to an end, the same deputation returned to present another petition to the minister, simply setting forth that in the past year their lord the great minister had brightened their country by his grace and clemency and had preserved them by

¹ Or Lámaghán. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr. de la Perse*, p. 503 ; Pavet de Courteille's *Mém. de Baber*, ii, pp. 120-121.

² See the Editor's note on مراغه on p. ۱۰۹ of the text. This expression appears to denote extreme cunning and resourcefulness, as though one should say "to wash without water." An attractive if bold emendation would be—بی باک مراوغه کردندى, "shamelessly evaded their obligations."

³ See n. 8 on p. 14 *supra*.

⁴ This is Mirzá Muḥammad's explanation of the expression آب بکس ندادند

his care and protection, (۱۹) so that through that bounty and beneficence the people of Lamghán had reached their proper position and were able to dwell on that border; but that, since their prosperity was still somewhat shaken, they feared that, should he demand the contribution on their possessions that year, some of them would be utterly ruined, and that, as a consequence of this, loss might accrue to the royal coffers.

The minister, Aḥmad-i-Ḥasan, therefore, extending his favour, excused them the taxes of yet another year. During these two years the people of Lamghán grew rich, but this did not suffice them, for in the third year their greed reasserted itself, and, hoping again to be excused, the same deputation again appeared at Court and made a similar representation. Then it became apparent to all the world that the people of Lamghán were in the wrong. So the Prime Minister turned the petition over and wrote on the back of it:—*Al-kharāju khurájun, add'uhu dawá'uhu*—that is to say, "*The tax is a running sore¹: its cure is its discharge.*" And from the time of this great statesman this saying has become proverbial, and has proved useful in many cases. May the earth rest lightly on this great man!

ANECDOTE VII.

There arose great statesmen under the 'Abbásid dynasty, and indeed the history of the Barmecides is well known and famous, and to what extent and degree were their gifts and rewards. Ḥasan [ibn] Sahl, called *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*² ("the lord of two commands"), and his brother Faḍl were exalted above the very heavens, so much so that Ma'mún espoused Faḍl's daughter and asked her in marriage. Now she was a damsel peerless in beauty and unrivalled in attainments; and it was agreed that Ma'mún should go to the bride's house and remain there for a month, and after the lapse of this period should return home with his bride. On the day fixed for their departure he desired, as is customary, to array himself in better clothes. Now Ma'mún always wore black; and people supposed that he wore it because black was the distinctive colour of the 'Abbásids; till one day Yahyá ibn Aktham³ enquired of him, "Why is it that the Prince of Believers prefers black garments?" Ma'mún replied to the judge, "Black garments are for men and for the living; for no woman is married in black, nor is any dead man (۲۰) buried in black." Yahyá was

¹ Literally "a wound of a thousand fountains," probably a carbuncle.

² There appears to be a confusion here between the two brothers. Ḥasan ibn Sahl was the father of Púrán, al-Ma'mún's bride, while Faḍl bore the title of *Dhu'r-Riyásatayn*. See de Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 268-272, and 408-409; vol. ii, pp. 472-476. Also the *Latá'ifu'l-Ma'árif* of Ath-Tha'álibi (ed. de Jong), pp. 73-74, where a full account is given of this marriage.

³ See de Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, iv, pp. 33-51.

greatly surprised by this answer. Then on this day Ma'mún desired to inspect the wardrobe; but of a thousand coats of satin, *ma'dínt*, *malíkt*, *ṭamím*, hand-woven, cloth of gold, *mígrádt*, and fine black silk¹, he approved none, but clad himself in his [customary] black, and mounted, and turned his face towards the bride's house. Now on that day Faḍl had decked out his palace in such wise that the nobles were filled with wonder thereat, for he had collected so many rare things that words would fail to describe or enumerate them. So when Ma'mún reached the gate of this palace he saw a curtain suspended, fairer than a Chinese temple² yet withal more precious than the standards of the true Faith, whereof the design charmed the heart and the colour mingled with the soul. He turned to his courtiers and said, "Whichever of those thousand coats I had chosen, I should have been shamed here. Praise be to God and thanks that I restricted myself to this black raiment."

Now of all the elaborate preparations made by Faḍl on that day, one was that he had a dish filled with [pieces of] wax in the form of pearls, each in circumference like a hazel-nut, and in each one a piece of paper on which was inscribed the name of a village. These he poured out at Ma'mún's feet, and whosoever of Ma'mún's attendants obtained one of these pieces of wax, to him he sent the title-deeds of that village.

So when Ma'mún entered the bride's house, he saw a mansion plastered and painted, with a dado of china tiles³, fairer than the East at the time of sunrise, and sweeter than a garden at the season of the rose; and therein spread out a full-sized mat of gold thread⁴ embroidered with pearls, rubies and turquoises; and six cushions of like design placed thereon; and seated there, in the place of honour, a beauteous damsel sweeter than existence and life, and pleasanter than health and youth; in stature such that the cypress of Ghátáfar⁵ would have subscribed itself her servant; with cheeks which the brightest sun would have acknowledged as suzerain; with hair which was the envy of musk and ambergris; and eyes which were the despair of the onyx and the narcissus. She, rising to her feet like a cypress, and walking gracefully, advanced towards Ma'mún, and, with a profound obeisance and earnest apologies, took his hand, brought him forward, seated him in the chief seat, and stood before him in service. Ma'mún bade her be seated, whereupon she seated

¹ The exact nature of most of these fabrics I have been unable to ascertain. See Note VII at the end.

² This, not "spring," seems to be the meaning of *bahár* in this passage.

³ *Isár* or *isára* appears to denote a kind of lower half-wall or dado against which one can lean while sitting.

⁴ *Khánawár* seems to mean "large enough for [covering the floor of] a house," and *Shúsha-i-zar-kashída* "spun" or "thread-drawn gold."

⁵ A quarter of Samarcand mentioned in the first story in Book i of the *Mathnawí*.

herself on her knees¹ hanging her head, and looking down at the carpet. Thereupon Ma'mún was overcome with love: (۲۱) he had already lost his heart, and now he would have added thereunto his very soul. He stretched out his hand and drew forth from the opening of his coat eighteen pearls, each one as large as a sparrow's egg, brighter than the stars of heaven, more lustrous than the teeth of the fair, rounder, nay more luminous, than Saturn or Jupiter, and poured them out on the surface of the carpet, where, by reason of its smoothness and their roundness, they continued in motion, there being no cause for their quiescence. But the girl paid no heed to the pearls, nor so much as raised her head. Thereat was Ma'mún's passion further increased, and he extended his hand to open the door of amorous dalliance and to take her in his embraces. But the emotion of shame overwhelmed her, and the delicate damsel was so affected that she was overtaken by that state peculiar to women. Thereat the marks of shame and abashed modesty appeared in her cheeks and countenance, and she immediately exclaimed:—"O Prince of Believers! The command of God cometh, seek not then to hasten it!"²

Thereat Ma'mún withdrew his hand, and was near swooning on account of the extreme appositeness of this verse, and her graceful application of it on this occasion. Yet still he could not take his eyes off her, and for eighteen days he came not forth from this house and concerned himself with naught but her. And the affairs of Fadl prospered, and he attained to that high position which was his.

ANECDOTE VIII.

Again in our own time one of the 'Abbásid Caliphs, al-Mustarshid bi'lláh³, the son of al-Mustazhir bi'lláh, the Prince of Believers (may God render his dust fragrant and exalt his rank in Paradise!), came forth from the city of Baghdád with a well-equipped army in full panoply, treasure beyond compute, and many muniments of war, marching against Khurásán, seeking to establish his supremacy over the King of the World Sanjar⁴.

Now this quarrel had been contrived by interested persons, and was due to the machinations and misrepresentations of wicked men, who had brought matters to this pass. When the Caliph reached Kirmánsháh, he there delivered on a Friday a homily which in eloquence transcended the highest zenith of the sun, and attained the height of the Heavenly Throne

¹ I.e. in the Persian fashion, on the heels, with the knees together in front.

² *Qur'an*, xvi, 1. Cf. de Slane's *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, p. 270.

³ The 29th 'Abbásid Caliph, reigned A.H. 512-529 (A.D. 1118-1135).

⁴ This happened in 529/1134-5. See Houtsma's *Recueil de Textes relatifs à l'Histoire des Seldjoucides*, vol. ii (1889), pp. 174-178. Sanjar is, however, a mistake for Mas'úd ibn Muḥammad ibn Maliksháh. See Note VIII at end.

and the Supreme Paradise. In the course of this harangue, in his great distress and extreme despair, he complained of the House of Saljúq, in such wise that the orators of Arabia and the rhetoricians of Persia are fain to confess that after the Companions of the Prophet (God's blessing rest on all of them), who were the disciples of the Point of the Prophetic Function (۲۲) and the expounders of his pithy aphorisms, no one had composed a discourse so weighty and eloquent. Said al-Mustarshid:—"We entrusted our affairs to the House of Saljúq, but they rebelled against us:—'and the time lengthened over them, and their hearts were hardened, and most of them are sinners¹,'" that is to say, withdrew their necks from our commands in [matters appertaining to] Religion and Islám.

ANECDOTE IX.

The Gúr-Khán of Khitá fought a battle with the King of the World Sanjar, the son of Maliksháh, at the gates of Samarqand, wherein such disaster befel the army of Islám as one cannot describe, and Transoxiana passed into his power². After putting to death the Imám of the East Husámu'd-Dín³ (may God make bright his example, and extend over him His Peace!), the Gúr Khán bestowed Bukhárá on Atmatigín⁴, the son of the Amír Bayábání⁵ and nephew of Atsiz Khwárazmsháh, and, when he retired, entrusted him to the Imám *Táju'l-Islám* Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, who was the Imám of Bukhárá and the son of Burhán⁶, so that whatever he did he might do by his advice, and that he should do nothing without his orders, nor take any step without his knowledge. Then the Gúr-Khán turned back and retired to Barskhán⁷.

Now his justice had no bounds, nor was there any limit to the effectiveness of his commands; and, indeed, in these two

¹ *Qur'án*, lvii, 15. The meaning of the Arabic is repeated in Persian in the text.

² See Mírkhwánd's *History of the Saljúqs*, ed. Vullers, pp. 176-180. Sir E. Denison Ross has pointed out to me that Gúr-Khán is a generic title. (See *History of the Moghuls of Central Asia* by Elias and Ross, pp. 287 *et seqq.*, and also Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. i, pp. 34 *et seqq.*) See also Mírzá Muḥammad's note on p. ۱۱۲ of the text, and Note IX at the end.

³ Husámu'd-Dín 'Umar ibn Burhánu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Máza. See Note XI at the end.

⁴ The correct form of this name is uncertain, but *Alptigín*, the reading of the lithographed edition and of Schefer, *op. cit.*, p. ۴۹, is certainly wrong. See note on p. ۱۱۴ of the text, and Note X at the end.

⁵ This name also is uncertain, and there are almost as many variants as there are texts. See Note X at the end.

⁶ *I.e.* Burhánu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz mentioned in the last footnote but two. See Note XI at the end.

⁷ The name of a city in Eastern Turkistán near Khutan. See G. le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 489, and Barthold in vol. i, part 4, p. 89, of the *Zapiski*, or *Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des Sciences de St Pétersbourg*, viii^e *Série. Classe hist.-philol.*, 1893-4.

things is comprised the essence of kingship. But when Atmatigín saw a clear field, he turned his hand to oppression, and began to levy contributions on Bukhárá. So several of the people of Bukhárá went as a deputation to Barskhán to seek redress. The Gúr-Khán, when he heard this, wrote a letter to Atmatigín [beginning] in the Muslim fashion:

"*In the Name of God the Merciful the Clement.* Let Atmatigín know that although far distance separates us, our approval and displeasure are near at hand. Let Atmatigín do that which [*Táju'l-Islám*] Aḥmad commands, and Aḥmad that which [the Prophet] Muḥammad commands. Farewell."

Again and again we have considered this and reflected on it. A thousand volumes or even more might be written to enlarge on this letter, yet its purport is extremely plain and clear, needing no explanation. Seldom have (੨੨) I seen anything like it.

ANECDOTE X.

The extreme eloquence of the Qur'án lies in its concision of words and inimitable presentation of ideas; and such citations as those above given which have occurred to orators and eloquent writers are of a kind to inspire awe, so that the wise and eloquent man is moved from his [former] mental attitude. And this is a clear proof and trenchant argument to establish the fact that this Word did not proceed from the mouth of any created being, nor originate from any [human] lips or tongue, but that the stamp of Eternity is impressed on its prescriptions and sentences.

It is related that one of the Muslims was reciting before Walíd ibnu 'l-Mughíra this verse:—"And it was said, 'O Earth, gulp down thy waters, and O Heaven, draw them up': and the water abated. Thus was the matter effected. And it [*i.e. the Ark*] rested upon Mount Júdí¹." "By God," said Walíd ibnu 'l-Mughíra, "verily it hath beauty and sweetness; its highest part is fruitful, and its lowest part is luxuriant; nor is it the word of man!" When even enemies reached on the plane of equity such a level of enthusiasm concerning the eloquence of the Qur'án and its miraculous quality, see to what degree friends will attain.

ANECDOTE XI.

It was formerly customary with the kings of old time and the autocrats of past ages, such as the Pishdádí, Kayání and Sásánian monarchs and the Caliphs, to vaunt themselves and compete with one another both in justice and erudition, and with every ambassador whom they despatched they used to send wise sayings,

¹ *Qur'án*, xi, 46.

riddles, and enigmatical questions. So the king, under these circumstances, stood in need of persons of intelligence and discrimination, and men of judgement and statesmanship; and several councils would be held and adjourned, until they were unanimous as to their answers, and these problems and enigmas were plain and apparent, when they would despatch the ambassador.

This practice was maintained until the time of that just king Maḥmúd ibn Subuktigín *Yamínu'd-Dawla* (may God have mercy upon him!). But when (۴۴) the Saljúqs succeeded him, they being nomads, ignorant of the conduct of affairs and the high achievements of kings, most of these royal customs became obsolete in their time, and many essentials of dominion fell into disuse. One of these was the Ministry of Posts, from which one can judge of the remainder. It is related that one day Sultán Maḥmúd *Yamínu'd-Dawla* despatched an ambassador to Bughrá Khán in Transoxiana, and in the letter which had been drafted occurred this passage:—*"God Almighty saith, 'Verily the most honourable of you in God's sight is he who is most pious of you'.*" Investigators and critics are agreed that here he [*i.e.* the Prophet] guards himself from ignorance; for the souls of men are subject to no more grievous defect than this of ignorance, nor is there aught lower than the blemish of folly. To the truth of this proposition and the soundness of this assertion [God's] uncreated word also bears witness:—*'[God will raise up those of you who believe] and those to whom hath been given knowledge to [superior] degrees'.*" Therefore we desire that the Imáms of the land of Transoxiana and the doctors of the East and scholars of the Kháqán's Court should impart [to us] this much information as to matters essential [to Salvation]. What is the Prophetic Office, what Saintship, what Religion, what Islám, what Faith, what Well-doing, what Godliness, what the Approbation of Right, what the Prohibition of Wrong, what the Path, what the Balance, what Mercy, what Pity, what Justice, and what Excellence?"

When this letter reached the Court of Bughrá Khán, and he had acquainted himself with its purport and contents, he summoned the Imáms of Transoxiana from the different towns and districts, and took counsel with them on this matter. Several of the greatest and most eminent of these Imáms agreed that they should severally compose a treatise on this subject, and in the course of their dissertation introduce into the text a reply to these interrogations. They craved a delay of four months for this purpose; which respite was fraught with all sorts of detriments, the worst of which were the disbursements from the treasury for the expenses of the ambassadors and king's messengers, and

¹ *Qur'án*, xlix, 13.

² *Qur'án*, lviii, 12.

the maintenance of the Imáms, until at length Muḥammad ibn 'Abduh¹ the scribe, who was Bughrá Khán's secretary, and was deeply versed in learning and highly distinguished in scholarship, besides being profoundly skilled in verse and prose, and one of the eloquent and distinguished stylists of the Muslims, said, "I will reply to these questions in two words, in such wise that when the scholars of Islám and the most conspicuous men of the East shall see my answer, it shall command their approval and admiration." So he took up his pen and wrote (۲۰) under the questions, after the fashion of a legal decision (*fatwá*):—*"Saith God's Apostle (upon whom be the Blessing of God, and His Peace) 'Reverence for God's Command and loving-kindness towards God's people.'"* All the Imáms of Transoxiana bit their fingers [in amazement] and expressed their admiration, saying, "Here indeed is an answer which is perfect and an utterance which is comprehensive!" And the Kháqán was mightily pleased because the difficulty had been overcome by a scribe and there was no further need for the divines. And when the answer reached Ghazna, all applauded it.

It therefore results from these premises that an intelligent and accomplished secretary is the greatest ornament to a king's magnificence and the best means to his exaltation. And with this anecdote we conclude this Discourse, and so farewell.

(۲۱) SECOND DISCOURSE.

On the essence of the Poetic Art and the aptitude of the Poet.

Poetry is that art whereby the poet arranges imaginary propositions and blends fruitful analogies, in such wise that he can make a little thing appear great and a great thing small, or cause good to appear in the garb of evil and evil in the form of good. By acting on the imagination, he excites the faculties of anger and concupiscence in such a way that by his suggestion men's temperaments become affected with depression or exaltation; whereby he conduces to the accomplishment of great things in the order of the world.

ANECDOTE XII.

Thus they relate that Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistání² was asked, "How didst thou, who wert originally an ass-herd,

¹ See p. 14 *supra*, Note III at the end, and p. ۹۹ of the Persian notes.

² "Khujistán.—In the mountains near Herát. From this country issued Aḥmad ibn

become Amír of Khurásán?" He replied, "One day I was reading the Dîwán of Ḥanzala of Bádghís¹, in Bádghís of Khujistán, when I chanced on these two couplets:—

مہتری گر بکامِ شیر درست ' شو خطر کن ز کامِ شیر بجوی

یا بزرگی و ناز و نعمت و جاہ ' یا چو مردانت مرگِ رویاروی

*'If lordship lies within the lion's jaws,
Go, risk it, and from those dread portals seize
Such straight-confronting death as men desire,
Or riches, greatness, rank and lasting ease.'*

An impulse stirred within me such that I could in no wise remain content with that condition wherein I was. I therefore sold my asses, bought a horse, and, quitting my country, entered the service of 'Alí ibn Layth, the brother of Ya'qúb and 'Amr. (۲۷) At that time the falcon of fortune of the Ṣaffárids² still hovered at the highest zenith of its prosperity. Of the three brothers, 'Alí was the youngest, and Ya'qúb and 'Amr had complete precedence over him. When Ya'qúb came from Khurásán to Ghazna over the mountains, 'Alí ibn Layth sent me back from *Ribát-i-Sangín*³ ('the Stone Rest-house') to act as agent to his feudal estates in Khurásán. I had a hundred horsemen of that army on the road, and had with me besides some twenty horsemen of my own. Now of the estates held in fief by 'Alí ibn Layth one was Karúkh⁴ of Herát, a second Khwáf⁵ of Nishápúr. When I reached Karúkh, I produced my warrant, and what was paid to me I divided amongst the army and gave to the soldiers. My horsemen now numbered three hundred. When I reached Khwáf⁶, and again produced my warrant, the burghers of Khwáf contested it, saying, 'We want a prefect with [a body-guard of only] ten men.' I therefore decided to renounce my allegiance to the Ṣaffáris, looted Khwáf, proceeded to the village of Busht⁶,

'Abdu'lláh al-Khujistání, who revolted at Nishápúr and died in 264/877-8." (Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Hist., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 197.) The editor points out (Persian notes, p. ۱۲۳, and Note XIII at the end) that, according to Ibnul-Athir, Aḥmad was assassinated in Shawwál, 268/882, after having reigned at Nishápúr six six years. See the *Journal Asiatique* for 1845, pp. 345 *et seqq.* of the second half.

¹ See Ethé's *Rûdagi's Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen*, pp. 38-40, where these verses and others by the same poet are cited.

² The short-lived Ṣaffárid dynasty was founded by Ya'qúb ibn Layth in 254/867. On his death in 265/878 he was succeeded by his brother 'Amr, who was overthrown by Isma'íl the Sámánid in 287/900 and was subsequently put to death.

³ This place, evidently situated between Ghazna and Khurásán, has not been identified, unless, as Muḥammad Iqbál suggests, it be identical with the *Ribát-i-Sang-bast* twice mentioned by Dawlatsháh (pp. ۱۷۶ and ۰۰۶ of my edition).

⁴ A town situated at ten parasangs from Herát. See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. Géogr., Hist., et Litt. de la Perse*, p. 487, and p. 33 *infra*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-214.

⁶ Busht or Pusht is also in the district of Nishápúr.

and came to Bayhaq¹, where two thousand horsemen joined me. I advanced and took Nishápúr, and my affairs prospered and continued to improve until I had subdued all Khurásán to myself. Of all this, these two verses of poetry were the original cause."

Sallámí² relates in his history that the affairs of Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'lláh prospered so greatly that in one night in Nishápúr he distributed in largesse 300,000 *dinárs*, 500 head of horses, and 1000 suits of clothes, and to-day he stands in history as one of the victorious monarchs, all of which was brought about by these two verses of poetry. Many similar instances are to be found amongst both the Arabs and the Persians, but we have restricted ourselves to the mention of this one. So a king cannot dispense with a good poet, who shall provide for the immortality of his name, and shall record his fame in *diwáns* and books. For when the king receives that command which none can escape³, no traces will remain of his army, his treasure, and his store; but his name will endure for ever by reason of the poet's verse, as Sharíf-i-Mujallidí of Gurgán says⁴:—

از آن چندان نعیر این جهانی ' که ماند از آل ساسان و آل سامان
ثنای رودکی ماندست و مدحش ' نوای باربد ماندست و داستان

"From all the treasures hoarded by the Houses
Of Sásán and of Sámán, in our days
Nothing survives except the song of Bárbad⁵,
Nothing is left save Rúdaki's sweet lays."

The names of the monarchs of each age and the princes of all time are immortalized by the admirable verse and widely-diffused poetry of this company⁶; (۲۸) as, for example, the names of the House of Sámán through Master Abú 'Abdi'lláh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ar-Rúdaki, Abu'l-'Abbás ar-Ribanjaní, Abu'l-Mathal al-Bukhárf, Abú Isháq-i-Júybárf, Abu'l-Ḥasan Ághají, Ṭaháwí,

¹ Bayhaq, also near Nishápúr, was according to Yáqút (who gives an unsatisfactory etymology) the ancient Khusrawjird and the later Sabzawár.

² *I.e.* Abú 'Alí as-Sallámí al-Bayhaqí, who died in 300/912-3. See p. ۱۲۰ of the Persian notes, and Note XIV at the end.

³ *I.e.* the summons of the Angel of Death.

⁴ 'Awfí, who mentions this poet (*Lubáb*, i, pp. ۱3-14), calls him Abú Sharíf Ahmad ibn 'Alí.

⁵ Concerning Bárbad, the celebrated minstrel of Khusraw Parwíz, see my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. ۱4-18 and foot-notes, and Nöldeke's new edition of his *Persische Nationalepos*, p. 43, n. 2 *ad calc.*

⁶ Of the poets included in this long list some account will be found in Note XIV at the end of this volume (derived in almost all cases from Mirzá Muḥammad's notes to the Persian text) save in the case of a few who are too well known to need further mention (such as 'Unşurí, 'Asjadí, Farrukhí and Minúchihri) and a rather larger number concerning whom no information is obtainable from the sources at present available, such as Lú'lú'í, Gulábí, 'Alí Sipihri, Sughdí, Pisar-i-Tisha, Kafá'í, Kúsa-i-Fálí, Púr-i-Kalah, Abu'l-Qásim Rafí'í, Abú Bakr Jawhari and 'Alí Şúfí. Concerning Ja'far of Hamadán, see vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, p. 260.

Khabbází of Níshápúr, and Abu'l-Hasan al-Kisá'í; the names of the kings of the House of Náşiru'd-Dín¹ through such men as 'Unşurí, 'Asjadí, Farrukhí, Bahrámí, Zínatí, Buzurjmíhr of Qá'in, Muza'ffarí, Manshúrí, Minúchihí, Mas'údí, Qaşárámí, Abú Hanífa-i-Iskáf, Ráshidí, Abu'l-Faraj of Rúna, Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, Muḥammad ibn Náşir, Sháh Abú Rijá, Aḥmad-i-Khalaf, 'Uthmán Mukhtarí, and Majdúd as-Saná'í; the names of the House of Kháqán through Lú'lú'í, Gulábí, Najíbí of Farghána, 'Am'aq of Bukhárá, Rashídí of Samarqand, Najjár ("the Carpenter") of Ságharj, 'Alí Pánidhí, Pisar-i-Darghúsh, 'Alí Sipihí, Jawharí, Sughdí, Pisar-i-Tísha, and 'Alí Shaṭranjí ("the Chess-player"); the names of the House of Buwayh by Master Mantiqí, Kiyá Ghaḍá'irí, and Bundár; the names of the House of Saljúq by Farrukhí of Gurgán, Lámi'í of Dihistán, Ja'far of Hamadán, Dur-Fírúz-i-Fakhrí, Burhání, Amír Mu'izzí, Abu'l-Ma'álí of Ray, 'Amíd-i-Kamálí and Shihábí; the names of the kings of Tabaristán through Qamarí of Gurgán, Ráfí'í of Níshápúr, Kafá'í of Ganja, Kúsa-i-Fálí, and Púr-i-Kalah; and the names of the kings of Ghúr or House of Shansab (may God cause their kingdom to endure!) through Abu'l-Qásim Rafí'í, Abú Bakr Jawharí, this least of mankind Nizámí-i-'Arúdí, and 'Alí Šúfí. The *diwáns* of these poets are eloquent as to the perfection, splendour, equipment, military strength, justice, bounty, nobility, excellence, judgement, statecraft, heaven-sent success and influence of these former kings and bygone rulers (may God illuminate their tombs and enlarge unto them their resting-places!). How many princes there were who enjoyed the favours of kings, and made great gifts which they bestowed on these eminent poets, of whom to-day no trace remains, nor of their hosts and retinues any survivor, though many were the painted palaces and charming gardens which they created and embellished, but which to-day are levelled with the ground and indistinguishable from the deserts and ravines! Says the author:—

بسا کاخا که محمودش بنا کرد

که از رفعت همی با مه مرا کرد

(۲۹) نه بینی زآن همه يك خشت بر پای

مدیج عنصری ماندست بر جای

*"How many a palace did great Mahmúd raise,
At whose tall towers the Moon did stand at gaze,
Whereof one brick remaineth not in place,
Though still re-echo 'Unşurí's sweet lays."*

The Monarch of the World, Sulṭán 'Alá'u'd-dunyá wa'd-Dín Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn ibnu'l-Ḥusayn, the Choice of the Prince of

¹ *I.e.* the House of Ghazna.

Believers (may his life be long, and the umbrella of his dynasty victorious!), marched on Ghazna to avenge those two kings, the Prince-martyr and the Laudable Monarch¹, and Sultán Bahrám-sháh fled before him. In vengeance for those two royal victims, whom they had treated with such indignity, and of whom they had spoken so lightly, he sacked the city of Ghazna, and destroyed the buildings raised by Maḥmúd, Mas'úd and Ibráhím, but he bought with gold the poems written in their praise, and placed them in his library. Alike in the army and in the city none dared call them king, yet the Conqueror himself would read from the *Sháhnáma* what Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsí says:—

چو كودك لب از شیرِ مادرِ بشت
ز كهواره محمود گوید نخست
بتین زنده پیل و بجان جبرئیل
بكف ابرِ بهمن بدل رود نیل
جهاندار محمود شاهِ بزرگ
بآبخور آرد همی میش و گُزگ

"Of the child in its cot, ere its lips yet are dry
From the milk of its mother, 'Maḥmúd!' is the cry!
A mammoth in strength and an angel in style,
With a bounty like Spring and a heart like the Nile,
Maḥmúd, the Great King, who such order doth keep
That in peace from one pool drink the wolf and the sheep!"

All wise men know that herein was no reverence for Maḥmúd, but only admiration of Firdawsí and his verse. Had Sultán Maḥmúd understood this, he would presumably not have left that noble man disappointed and despairing.

EXCURSUS. *On the quality of the Poet and his verse.*

Now the poet must be of tender temperament, profound in thought, sound in genius, a powerful thinker, subtle of insight. He must be well versed in many divers sciences, and eclectic amidst divergent customs; for as poetry is of advantage in every science; so is every science of advantage in poetry. And the poet must be of pleasing conversation in social gatherings, of cheerful countenance on festive occasions; and his verse must have attained to such a level as to be written on the page of Time (۴۰) and celebrated on the tongues of the noble, and be such that they transcribe it in books and recite it in cities. For the richest portion and most excellent part of poetry is immortal fame, and until it be thus recorded and recited this idea will not be realized. And if poetry does not rise to this level, its influence is ineffectual, for it will die before its author. So, being impotent for the im-

¹ Quṭbu'd-Dín Muḥammad and Sayfu'd-Dín Súrí, both killed by Bahrámsháh the Ghaznawí towards the middle of the sixth century of the Flight. From his devastation of Ghazna (550/1155-6) their brother 'Alá'u'd-Dín Husayn the Ghúrí received the title of *Jahán-súz* ("the World-consumer"). See Note XV at the end.

mortalizing of its own name, how can it confer immortality on the name of another?

But to this rank a poet cannot attain unless in the prime of his life and the season of his youth he commits to memory 20,000 couplets of the poetry of the Ancients, keeps in view [as models] 10,000 verses of the works of the Moderns, and continually reads and remembers the *diwāns* of the masters of his art, observing how they have acquitted themselves in the strait passes and delicate places of song, in order that thus the different styles and varieties of verse may become ingrained in his nature, and the defects and beauties of poetry may be inscribed on the tablet of his understanding. In this way his style will improve and his genius will develop. Then, when his genius has thus been firmly established in the power of poetical expression, and his verse has become even in quality, let him address himself seriously to the poetic art, study the science of Prosody, and familiarize himself with the works of Master Abu'l-Hasan Bahrāmī of Sarakhs, such as the "Goal of Prosodists" (*Ghāyatul-'Arūdiyyīn*)¹ and the "Treasure of Rhyme" (*Kanzul-Qāfiya*). Then let him make a critical study of poetic ideas and phraseology, plagiarisms, biographies, and all the sciences of this class, with such a Master as knows these matters, so that he in turn may merit the title of Master, and his name may appear on the page of Time like the names of those other Masters whom we have mentioned, that he may thus be able to discharge his debt to his patron and lord for what he obtains from him by immortalizing his name.

Now it behoves the King to patronize such a poet, so that he may enlist in his service and celebrate his praise. But if he fall below this level, no money should be wasted on him and no heed paid to his poetry, especially if he be old; for I have investigated this matter, and in the whole world have found nothing worse than an old poet, nor any money more ill spent than what is given to such. For one so ignoble as not to have discovered in fifty years that what he writes is bad, when will he discover it? But if he be young and has the right talent, even though his verse be not good, there is some hope that it may improve, (۳۱) and according to the Code of Nobility it is proper to patronize him, a duty to take care of him, and an obligation to look after him.

Now in the service of kings naught is better than improvisation, for thereby the king's mood is cheered, his receptions are made brilliant, and the poet himself attains his object. Such favours as Rūdagī obtained from the House of Sámán by his improvisations and readiness in verse, none other hath experienced.

¹ Or perhaps '*Arūdayn*,' "the two Prosodies," viz. Arabic and Persian. See the Editor's note on p. ۱۰۹.

ANECDOTE XIII.

They relate thus, that Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, who was the most brilliant jewel of the Sámánid galaxy, whereof the fortunes reached their zenith during the days of his rule, was most plenteously equipped with every means of enjoyment and material of splendour—well-filled treasuries, a far-flung army and loyal servants. In winter he used to reside at his capital, Bukhárá, while in summer he used to go to Samarqand or some other of the cities of Khurásán. Now one year it was the turn of Herát. He spent the spring season at Bādghís, where are the most charming pasture-grounds of Khurásán and ‘Irāq, for there are nearly a thousand water-courses abounding in water and pasture, any one of which would suffice for an army.

When the beasts had well enjoyed their spring feed, and had regained their strength and condition, and were fit for warfare or to take the field, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad turned his face towards Herát, but halted outside the city at Margh-i-Sapíd and there pitched his camp. It was the season of spring; cool breezes from the north were stirring, and the fruit was ripening in the districts of Málin and Karúkh¹—such fruit as can be obtained in but few places, and nowhere so cheaply. There the army rested. The climate was charming, the breeze cool, food plentiful, fruit abundant, and the air filled with fragrant scents, so that the soldiers enjoyed their life to the full during the spring and summer.

When Mihrgán² arrived, and the juice of the grape came into season, and the basil³, rocket⁴ and fever-few⁵ were in bloom, they did full justice to the delights of youth, and took tribute of their juvenile prime. Mihrgán was protracted, for the cold did not wax severe, and the grapes ripened with exceptional sweetness. For in the district of Herát one hundred and twenty different varieties of the grape occur, each sweeter and more delicious than the other; and amongst them are in particular two kinds which are not to be found in any other region of the inhabited world, (۳۵) one called *Parniyán*⁶ and the other *Kalanjarí*⁷, thin-skinned,

¹ See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 487, 511-512, according to which the former village is distant from Herát two parasangs, the latter ten.

² The festival of the autumnal equinox, which fell in the old Persian month of Mihr.

³ *Shāhisfaram* (Arabic *Rayhán*) = *Ocimum basilicum*. See Schlimmer's *Terminologie*, p. 404; Achundow, pp. 226, 381.

⁴ *Hamāhim*, said to be equivalent to the Persian *Bustán-afraz*.

⁵ *Ughuwán* (Persian *Bābūna-i-Gaw-chashm*), *Matricaria* or *Pyrethrum*. See Schlimmer, p. 364.

⁶ The Tihrán lithograph has *Tarniyán*, of which the usual meaning appears to be a sieve or basket made of osiers. See Horn's *Asadī*, p. 99, l. 1; Salemann's *Shams i Fachrti Lexicon*, p. 96, l. 13 and note *ad calc.*

⁷ This word, in the form *Kalanjar*, is given in the *Burhān-i-Qdī*. The description seems to be based on this passage.

small-stoned, and luscious, so that you would say they contained no earthly elements. A cluster of Kalanjarí grapes sometimes attains a weight of five maunds, and each individual grape five dirhams' weight, they are black as pitch and sweet as sugar, and one can eat many by reason of the lusciousness that is in them. And besides these there were all sorts of other delicious fruits.

So the Amír Naṣr ibn Aḥmad saw Mihrgán and its fruits, and was mightily pleased therewith. Then the narcissus began to bloom, and the raisins were plucked and stoned¹ in Málin, and hung up on lines, and packed in store-rooms; and the Amír with his army moved into the two groups of hamlets called Ghúra and Darwáz. There he saw mansions of which each one was like highest paradise, having before it a garden or pleasure ground with a northern aspect. There they wintered, while the Mandarin oranges began to arrive from Sístán and the sweet oranges from Mázandarán; and so they passed the winter in the most agreeable manner.

When [the second] spring came, the Amír sent the horses to Bádghís and moved his camp to Málin [to a spot] between two streams. And when summer came and the fruits again ripened, Amír Naṣr ibn Aḥmad said, "Where shall we go for the summer? For there is no pleasanter place of residence than this. Let us wait till Mihrgán." And when Mihrgán came, he said, "Let us enjoy Mihrgán at Herát and then go"; and so from season to season he continued to procrastinate, until four years had passed in this way. For it was then the heyday of the Sámánian prosperity, and the land was flourishing, the kingdom unmenaced by foes, the army loyal, fortune favourable, and heaven auspicious; yet withal the Amír's attendants grew weary, and desire for home arose within them, while they beheld the king quiescent, the air of Herát in his head and the love of Herát in his heart; and in the course of conversation he would compare, nay, prefer Herát to the Garden of Eden, and would exalt its charms above those of a Chinese temple².

So they perceived that he intended to remain there for that summer also. Then the captains of the army and nobles of the kingdom went to Master Abú 'Abdi'lláh Rúdagí³, than whom there was none more honoured of the king's intimates, and none whose words found so ready an acceptance. And they said to him, "We will present thee with five thousand *dínárs* if thou wilt contrive some artifice whereby the king may be induced to depart

¹ For this meaning of *munagga* the editor refers to the article *Zahíb* in the *Tuhfatih'l-Mu'minin* of Muḥammad Mú'min al-Husaynî. For an account of this work, which was completed in A.D. 1669, see Fonahn's *Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin*, pp. 89-91.

² Or "Chinese Spring." See n. 2 on p. 22 *supra*.

³ See Ethé's excellent monograph and his article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; p. 62 of the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1899; and Note XIV at the end, second paragraph.

hence, for our hearts are craving for our wives and children, and our souls (۳۳) are like to leave us for longing after Bukhárá." Rúdagí agreed; and, since he had felt the Amír's pulse and understood his temperament, he perceived that prose would not affect him, and so had recourse to verse. He therefore composed a *qaşıda*; and, when the Amír had taken his morning cup, came in and sat down in his place; and, when the musicians ceased, he took up the harp, and, playing the "Lover's air," began this elegy¹:—

‘بوی جوی مولیان آید همی’ ‘بوی یارِ مهربان آید همی’

*"The Jú-yi-Múliyán² we call to mind,
We long for those dear friends long left behind."*

Then he strikes a lower key, and sings:—

ریگِ آموی و درشتی راه او، زیرِ پایم پرنیان آید همی،
آبِ جیحون از نشاطِ روی دوست، خنکِ مارا تا میان آید همی،
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیر زی، میرزی تو شادمان آید همی،
میر ماهست و بخارا آسمان، ماه سوی آسمان آید همی،
میر سُرُوست و بخارا بوستان، سُرُو سوی بوستان آید همی،

*"The sands of Oxus, toilsome though they be,
Beneath my feet were soft as silk to me.
Glad at the friends' return, the Oxus deep
Up to our girths in laughing waves shall leap.
Long live Bukhárá! Be thou of good cheer!
Joyous towards thee hasteth our Amír!
The Moon's the Prince, Bukhárá is the sky;
O Sky, the Moon shall light thee by and by!
Bukhárá is the mead, the Cypress he;
Receive at last, O Mead, thy Cypress-tree!"*

When Rúdagí reached this verse, the Amír was so much affected that he descended from his throne, all unbooted bestrode the horse which was on sentry-duty³, and set off for Bukhárá so precipitately that they carried his leggings and riding-boots

¹ This poem is very well known, being cited in almost all notices of Rúdagí's life (e.g. by Dawlatsháh), in Forbes' *Persian Grammar*, pp. 40, 161-163, and in Blochmann's *Prosody of the Persians*, pp. 2-3. See Note XVI at the end.

² The original name of this stream and the farms on its banks was, according to Narshakhi's *History of Bukhárá*, *Jú-yi-Mawáliyán*, "the Clients' Stream." See Note XVI at the end of this volume.

³ *Khing-i-nawbatí*. To provide against any sudden emergency a horse, ready saddled and bridled, was kept always at the gate of the king's palace, and it is this "sentry-horse" to which reference is here made. See my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, p. 317, and n. 1 *ad calc.*

after him for two parasangs, as far as Burúna¹, and only then did he put them on; nor did he draw rein anywhere till he reached Bukhárá, and Rúdagí received from the army the double of that five thousand *dinárs*.

At Samarcand, in the year A.H. 504 (= A.D. 1110–1111), I heard from the Dihqán Abú Rijá Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdu’s-Ṣamad al-‘Ábidí as follows: “My grandfather Abú Rijá related that on this occasion when Rúdagí reached Samarcand, he had four hundred camels laden with his baggage.” And indeed that illustrious man was worthy of this splendid equipment, for no one has yet produced a successful imitation of that elegy, nor found means to surmount triumphantly the difficulties [which the subject presents]. Thus the Poet-laureate Mu‘izzí was one of the sweetest singers and most graceful wits in Persia, for his poetry reaches the highest level in beauty and freshness, and excels in fluency and charm. Zaynu’l-Mulk Abú Sa’d [ibn] Hindú ibn Muḥammad ibn Hindú of Isfahán² requested him to compose an imitation of this *qaṣída*. Mu‘izzí declared his inability to do so, but, being pressed, produced a few verses of which this is one:—

(۳۴) رستم از مازندران آید همی ‘ زین ملک از اصفهان آید همی ‘

(۳۴) “Now advanceth Rostam from Mázandarán,
Now advanceth Zayn-i-Mulk from Isfahán.”

All wise men will perceive how great is the difference between this poetry and that; for who can sing with such sweetness as does Rúdagí when he says:—

آفرین و مدح سود آید همی ‘ گو بگنج اندر زیان آید همی ‘

“Surely are renown and praise a lasting gain,
Even though the royal coffers loss sustain!”

For in this couplet are seven admirable touches of art; first, the verse is apposite; secondly, antithetical; thirdly, it has a refrain; fourthly, it embodies an enunciation of equivalence; fifthly, it has sweetness; sixthly, style; seventhly, energy³. Every master of the craft who has deeply considered the poetic art will admit, after a little reflection, that I am right.

¹ L. has *برونه*, and in a marginal note explains *burúna* as meaning turban or handkerchief; but A. has *به برونه*, and I suspect that it is really a place-name. Cf. Sachau’s remarks on the derivation of al-Birúni’s name at p. 7 of his translation of the *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

² See Houtsma’s ed. of al-Bundārī’s *History of the Saljuqs*, pp. 93, 101, 105; and Ibnu’l-Athir under the year 506/1112–13, in which Zaynu’l-Mulk was put to death by his master Sultán Muḥammad ibn Maliksháh the Saljuq.

³ Mirzá Muḥammad points out in his note on this passage (p. ۱۷۱) that the first three artifices are denoted by adjectives and the last four by substantives, and that the first and second (*mutābiq* and *mutāqádd*) are identical. Finally he justly observes that “style” or “elegance” (*faṣḥat*) is not a rhetorical artifice but an indispensable attribute of all good writing, whether prose or verse.

ANECDOTE XIV.

The love borne by Sultân *Yamînu'd-Dawla* Maḥmúd to Ayáz the Turk is well-known and famous. It is related that Ayáz was not remarkably handsome, but was of sweet expression and olive complexion, symmetrically formed, graceful in his movements, sensible and deliberate in action, and mightily endowed with all the arts of pleasing, in which respect, indeed, he had few rivals in his time. Now all these are qualities which excite love and give permanence to friendship.

Now Sultân *Yamînu'd-Dawla* Maḥmúd was a pious and God-fearing man, and he wrestled much with his love for Ayáz so that he should not diverge by so much as a single step from the Path of the Law and the Way of Honour. One night, however, at a carousal, when the wine had begun to affect him and love to stir within him, he looked at the curls of Ayáz, and saw, as it were, ambergris rolling over the face of the moon, hyacinths twisted about the visage of the sun, ringlet upon ringlet like a coat of mail; link upon link like a chain; in every ringlet a thousand hearts and under every lock a hundred thousand souls. Thereupon love plucked the reins of self-restraint from the hands of his endurance, and lover-like he drew him to himself. But the watchman of "*Hath not God forbidden you to transgress against Him¹?*" thrust forth his head from the collar of the Law, stood before Sultân [Maḥmúd] *Yamînu'd-Dawla*, and said, "O Maḥmúd, mingle not sin with love, nor mix the false with the true, for such a slip will raise the Realm of Love in revolt against thee, and like (۞) thy first father thou wilt fall from Love's Paradise, and remain afflicted in the world of Sin." The ear of his fortunate nature being quick to hear, he hearkened to this announcement, and the tongue of his faith cried from his innermost soul, "*We believe and we affirm.*" But he feared lest the army of his self-control might be unable to withstand the hosts of Ayáz's locks, so, drawing a knife, he placed it in the hands of Ayáz, bidding him take it and cut off his curls. Ayáz took the knife from his hands with an obeisance, and, having enquired where he should sunder them, was bidden to cut them in the middle. He therefore doubled back his locks to get the measurement, executed the king's command, and laid the two tresses before Maḥmúd. It is said that this ready obedience became a fresh cause of love; and Maḥmúd called for gold and jewels and gave to Ayáz beyond his usual wont and custom, after which he fell into a drunken sleep.

¹ Here and in the next sentence I have preferred the alternative reading of the MSS. to the printed text, which has "*We believe and we affirm*" in this place, and omits these and the preceding eleven words below.

When the morning breeze blew upon him, and he arose from sleep to ascend the Royal Throne, he remembered what he had done. He summoned Ayáz and saw the clipped tresses. The army of remorse invaded his heart, and the peevish headache born of wine vanquished his brain. He kept rising up and sitting down [aimlessly], and none of the courtiers or men of rank dared to address to him any enquiry as to the cause, until at length Hájib 'Alí [ibn] Qaríb, who was his Chief Chamberlain, turned to 'Unşurí and said, "Go in before the King and shew thyself to him, and seek some way whereby he may be restored to good temper." So 'Unşurí fulfilled the Chamberlain's command, came in and did obeisance. Sultán Yamínu'd-Dawla raised his head and said, "O 'Unşurí, I was just thinking of you. You see what has happened : say something appropriate for us on this subject." 'Unşurí did obeisance and extemporized as follows :—

كى عيبِ سرِ زلفِ بت از كاستن است ،
 چه جاى بغمِ نشستن و خاستن است ،
 جاى طرب و نشاط و مى خواستن است ،
 كآراستنِ سرو ز پيراستن است ،

*"Why deem it shame a fair one's curls to shear,
 Why rise in wrath or sit in sorrow here?
 Rather rejoice, make merry, call for wine;
 When clipped the Cypress doth most trim appear."*

Maḥmúd was highly pleased with this quatrain, and bade them bring precious stones wherewith he twice filled the poet's mouth. Then he summoned the minstrels before him, and all that day until nightfall drank wine to [the accompaniment of] those two verses, whereby his melancholy was dissipated and he became mighty good-tempered.

Now you must know that improvisation is the chief pillar of the Poetic Art ; and it is incumbent on the poet to train his talents to such a point as (۳۱) to be able to improvise on any subject, for thus can money be extracted from the treasury, and thus can the statement of any matter be adapted to the king's mood. All this is necessary to please the heart of one's master and the humour of one's patron ; and whatever poets have earned in the way of great rewards has been earned by improvisations adapted to the occasion.

ANECDOTE XV.

Farrukhí was a native of Sístán, and was the son of Júlúgh, the slave of Amír Khalaf-i-Bánú¹. He possessed excellent talents, composed pleasing verses, and was a dexterous performer on the harp; and he was retained in the service of one of the *dihqáns* of Sístán, who gave him a yearly allowance of two hundred measures of corn, each containing five maunds, and a hundred *dirhams* in silver coinage of Núh, which amply sufficed for his needs. But he sought in marriage a woman of Khalaf's clientage, whereby his expenses were increased and multiplied in all directions², so that Farrukhí remained without sufficient provision, nor was there in Sístán anyone else save his³ nobles. He therefore appealed to the *dihqán* saying, "My expenses have been increased; how would it be if the *dihqán*, having regard to his generosity, should make my allowance of corn three hundred measures, and make my salary one hundred and fifty *dirhams*, so that my means may perhaps be equal to my expenditure?" The *dihqán* wrote on the back of the appeal, "So much shall not be refused you, but there is no possibility of any further increase."

Farrukhí, on hearing this, was in despair, and made enquiries of such as arrived and passed by to hear of some patron in some region or part of the world who might look upon him with favour, so that he might chance on a success; until at length they informed him that the Amír Abu'l-Muzaffar-i-Chaghání⁴ was a munificent patron of this class, conferring on them splendid presents and rewards, and was at that period unrivalled in this respect amongst the kings of the age and nobles of the time. So Farrukhí set out thither, having composed the *qasída* beginning:—

با کاروانِ حِلّه بر قتم ز سیستان ' با حِلّه تنیده زد دل بافته ز جان '

"With caravan for Hilla bound from Sístán did I start,
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart."

In truth it is a fine rhapsody in which he has admirably described the Poetic Art, while as a panegyric it is incomparable.

So Farrukhí, having furnished himself with what was necessary for the journey, set out for Chagháníyán. And when he

¹ I.e. the Amír Abú Aḥmad Khalaf ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Khalaf ibn Layth aṣ-Ṣaffārī, King of Sístán, whose mother, called *Bánú* ("the Lady"), was the daughter of 'Amr ibn Layth. He died in captivity in 399/1008-9.

² See the *Farhang-i-Aujuman-árá-yi-Nāṣiri*, s.v. **دِه و زنبیل**, where **دِه و زنبیل** is said to mean **دِه و قبل**.

³ I.e. Khalaf's.

⁴ Or, in its Arabicized form, *Sagháníán*, a place in Transoxiana, near Tirmidh and Qubádhíyán. See de Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, where it is mentioned repeatedly.

arrived at the Court of Chagháníyán, it was the season of Spring and the Amír was at the branding-ground. Abu'l-Muẓaffar, as I have heard, had 18,000 breeding mares¹, each one of which was followed by its colt. And every year the Amír used to go out to brand (۳۳) the colts, and [at this moment he happened to be at the place where the branding was done; while²] 'Amíd As'ad, who was his steward, was at the court preparing provisions to be conveyed to the Amír. To him Farrukhí went, and recited a *qaṣída*, and submitted to him the poem he had composed for the Amír.

Now 'Amíd As'ad was a man of parts and a patron of poets, and in Farrukhí's verse he recognized poetry at once fresh, sweet, pleasing and masterly, while seeing the man himself to be an ill-proportioned Sagzí, clothed in a torn *jubba* worn anyhow³, with a huge turban on his head after the manner of the Sagzís, with the most displeasing feet and shoes; and this poetry, withal, in the seventh heaven. He could not believe that it had been composed by this Sagzí, and, to prove him, said, "The Amír is at the branding-ground, whither I go to wait upon him: and thither I will take thee also, for it is a mighty pleasant spot—

جهانی در جهانی سبزه بینی

"*World within world of verdure wilt thou see*"—

full of tents and lamps like stars, and from each tent come the strains of the lute, and friends sit together, drinking wine and making merry, while before the Amír's pavilion a great fire is kindled, in size like unto several mountains, whereat they brand the colts. And the Amír, with the goblet in one hand and the lasso in the other, drinks wine and gives away horses. Compose, now, a *qaṣída*, suitable to the occasion, describing the branding-ground, so that I may take thee before the Amír."

That night Farrukhí went and composed a very fine *qaṣída*, which next morning he brought before 'Amíd As'ad. This is the *qaṣída*⁴:—

چون پرندِ نیلگون بر روی پوشد مرغزار

پرنیانِ هفت رنگِ اندر سرآرد کوهسار

¹ The variant *راهی* is explained in the margin of L. as meaning *گردنده و دونده*, which I originally translated "roadster." The verb *زهیدن*, from which *زهی* seems to be derived, appears to be a variant of *زادن*.

² These words are omitted in the printed edition.

³ *Pish u pas*, "hind before."

⁴ See pp. ۱۱۴–۱۱۷ of the lithographed edition of Farrukhí's works published at Tihrán for Mirzá Mahdí Khán *Baddiyi-nigâr*, poetically surnamed Mukhlis, in A.H. 1301. Of the 52 bayts there given, only 22 are cited in the *Chahâr Maqâla*. The poem is also given by Dawlatsháh (pp. ۵۵–۵۷ of my edition). Only the more important variants are given here.

خاك را چون نافِ آهو مشك زايد بيقياس
 بيدرا چون پَرِ طوطی برگِ روید بیشمار
 دوش وقتِ نیم شب¹ بوی بهار آورد باد
 حَیْذا بادِ شمال و خرمای بوی بهار
 باد گوئی مشك سوده دارد اندر آستین
 باغ گوئی لعبتِان جلوه دارد در کنار
 (۳۸) نَستَرَن لَوْلُوی بیضا دارد اندر مُرسَلَه²
 ارغوان لعلِ بدخشی دارد اندر گوشوار
 تا بر آمد جامهای سرخ مُل بر شاخِ گُل
 پنجه‌ها چون³ دستِ مردم سر فرو کرد از چنار
 باغ بو قلمون لباس و شاخ بو قلمون نمای
 آب مروارید گون و ابر مروارید بار
 راست پنداری که خلعتهای رنگین یافتند
 باغهای پر نگار از داغگاهِ شهریار
 داغگاهِ شهریار اکنون چنان خرم شود
 کاندرو از خرمی خیره همانند روزگار
 سبزه اندر سبزه بینی چون سپهر اندر سپهر
 خیمه اندر خیمه بینی چون⁴ حصار اندر حصار
 هر کجا خیمه است خفته عاشقی با دوست مست
 هر کجا سبزه است شادان یاری از دیدارِ یار
 سبزه‌ها پر بانگِ چنگ⁵ و مطربان چرب دست
 خیمه‌ها با بانگِ نوش و ساقیان میگسار
 عاشقان بوس و کنار و نیکوان ناز و عتاب
 مطربان رود و سرود و خفتگان خواب و خمار

¹ The printed text has صُبْحدم for نیم شب.

² A gloss in the lithographed Tīhrán edition explains this word as meaning "necklace" (گردن بند), which meaning is also given in the *Ghiyāthul-Lughāt*.

³ Variant پنجه‌های دست ...

⁴ The printed text has چون سیمین حصار.

⁵ The printed text has پر for بانگ and om. چنگ after.

بر در پرده سرای خسرو¹ پیروز بخت
 از پی داغ آتشی افروخته خورشیدوار
 بر کشیده آتشی چون مَطَرَدِ دیبای زرد
 گرم چون طبع جوان و زرد چون زرّ عیار
 داغها چون شاخهای بسد یاقوت رنگ
 هر یکی چون نار دانه گشته اندر زیر نار
 (۳۹) بردگان² خواب نا دیده مصاف اندر مصاف
 مرکبان داغ نا کرده قطار اندر قطار
 خسرو فرّخ سیر بر باره دریا گذر
 با کمند اندر میان دشت چون اسفندیار
 همچو زلفِ دلبران خُرد ساله³ تاب خورد
 همچو عهدِ دوستانِ سالخورده استوار
 میرِ عادل⁴ بو المظفر شاه با پیوستگان
 شهریارِ شیرگیر و پادشاهِ شهر دار⁵
 [اژدها کردار پیچان در کف رادش کمند
 چون عصای موسوی در دست موسی گشته مار]⁶
 هر کرا اندر کمندِ شصت یازی در فکند
 گشت نامش⁷ بر سرین و شانه و رویش نگار
 هر چه زین سو داغ کرد از سوی دیگر هدیه داد⁸
 شاعران را با لگام و زایران را با فسار

¹ The *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣah*, as pointed out by the Editor (p. ۱۶۱), arbitrarily substitutes طاهر for خسرو, in order to support the theory that the poem was composed in honour of No. 6 not No. 7 of the House of Chaghāniyān. See Note XVIII at the end.

² The printed text has ریدگان explained as "slave-boys" (غلام بچگان). The Tīhrān ed. has دیدگان, "eyes."

³ The printed text has نیکوان مرو گیسو.

⁴ The lithograph substitutes "*Fakhr-i-Dawlat*."

⁵ Both the printed and the lithographed editions have:—

شادمان و شادخوار و کامران و کامکار

⁶ This verse only occurs in the Tīhrān lithographed edition (L.).

⁷ The lithographed edition has دابش.

⁸ A., B. and L. have میدهد.

*"Since the meadow hides its face in satin shot with greens and blues,
 And the mountains wrap their brows in silken veils of seven hues,
 Earth is teeming like the musk-pod with aromas rich and rare,
 Foliage bright as parrot's plumage doth the graceful willow wear.
 Yester'en the midnight breezes brought the tidings of the spring:
 Welcome, O ye northern gales, for this glad promise which ye bring!
 Up its sleeve the wind, meseemeth, pounded musk hath stored away,
 While the garden fills its lap with shining dolls, as though for play.
 On the branches of syringa necklaces of pearls we see,
 Ruby ear-rings of Badakhshán sparkle on the Judas-tree.
 Since the branches of the rose-bush carmine cups and beakers bore
 Human-like five-fingered hands reach downwards from the sycamore.
 Gardens all chameleon-coated, branches with chameleon whorls,
 Pearly-lustrous pools around us, clouds above us raining pearls!
 On the gleaming plain this coat of many colours doth appear
 Like a robe of honour granted in the court of our Amír.
 For our Prince's Camp of Branding stirreth in these joyful days
 So that all this age of ours in joyful wonder stands agaze.
 Green within the green you see, like skies within the firmament;
 Like a fort within a fortress spreads the army tent on tent.
 Every tent contains a lover resting in his sweetheart's arms,
 Every patch of grass revealeth to a friend a favourite's charms.
 Harps are sounding 'midst the verdure, minstrels sing their lays divine,
 Tents resound with clink of glasses as the pages pour the wine.
 Kisses, claspings from the lovers; coy reproaches from the fair;
 Wine-born slumbers for the sleepers, while the minstrels wake the air.
 Branding-fires, like suns ablaze, are kindled at the spacious gate
 Leading to the state-pavilion of our Prince so fortunate.
 Leap the flames like gleaming standards draped with yellow-hued brocade,
 Hotter than a young man's temper, yellower than gold assayed.
 Branding tools like coral branches ruby-tinted glow amain
 In the fire, as in the ripe pomegranate glows the crimson grain.
 Rank on rank of active boys, whose watchful eyes no slumber know;
 Steeds which still await the branding, rank on rank and row on row.
 On his horse, the river-forder, roams our genial Prince afar,
 Ready to his hand the lassoo, like a young Isfandiyár.
 Like the locks of pretty children see it how it curls and bends,
 Yet be sure its hold is stronger than the covenant of friends.
 Bu'l-Muzaffar Sháh the Just, surrounded by a noble band,
 King and conqueror of cities, brave defender of the land.
 Serpent-coiled in skilful hands fresh forms his whirling noose doth take,
 Like unto the rod of Moses metamorphosed to a snake.
 Whosoever hath been captured by that noose and circling line,
 On the face and flank and shoulder ever bears the Royal Sign.
 But, though on one side he brands, he giveth also rich rewards,
 Leads his poets with a bridle, binds his guests as though with cords."*

When 'Amíd As'ad heard this rhapsody, he was overwhelmed with amazement, for never had the like of it reached his ears. He put aside all his business, mounted Farrukhí on a horse, and set out for the Amír, whose presence he entered about sun-down, saying, "O Sire, I bring thee a poet the like of whom no one hath seen since Daqíqí's face was veiled in the tomb." Then he related what had passed.

Then the Amír accorded Farrukhí an audience, and when he came in he did reverence, and the Amír gave him his hand and

assigned him an honourable place, enquiring after his health, treating him with kindness, and inspiring him with hopes of favours to come. When the wine had gone round several times¹, Farrukhí arose, and, in a sweet and plaintive voice, recited his elegy beginning :—

با کاروانِ حِلّه برفتم ز سیستان ، با حِلّه تنیده ز دل بافته ز جان ،

*"With caravan for Hilla bound from Sístán did I start,
With fabrics spun within my brain and woven by my heart."*

When he had finished, the Amír, who appreciated poetry and was himself something of a poet, expressed his astonishment at this rhapsody. 'Amíd As'ad said, "O Sire, wait till you see something still better!" Farrukhí was silent and held his peace until the wine had produced its full effect on the Amír, then he arose and recited this rhapsody(۴۰) on the branding-ground. The Amír was amazed, and in his admiration turned to Farrukhí, saying, "They have brought in a thousand colts, all with white foreheads, fetlocks and feet, bred in Khatlán². The way is [open] to thee! Thou art a cunning rascal, a Sagzí; catch as many as thou art able, that they may be thine." Farrukhí, on whom the wine had produced its full effect, came out, straightway took his turban from his head, hurled himself into the midst of the herd, and chased a drove of them before him across the plain; but, though he caused them to gallop right and left in every direction, he could not catch a single one. At length a ruined rest-house situated on the edge of the camping-ground came into view, and thither the colts fled. Farrukhí, being utterly tired out, placed his turban under his head in the porch of the rest-house, and at once went to sleep, by reason of his extreme weariness and the effects of the wine. When they counted the colts, they were forty-two in number. They went and told the Amír, who, greatly surprised, laughed heartily and said, "He is a lucky fellow, and will come to great things. Look after him and the colts as well, and when he awakes, waken me too." So they obeyed the King's orders.

Next day, at sunrise, Farrukhí arose. The Amír had already risen, and, when he had performed his prayers, he gave Farrukhí an audience, treated him with great consideration, and handed over the colts to his attendants. He also ordered Farrukhí to be given a horse and equipments suitable to a man of rank, as well as two tents, three mules, five slaves, wearing apparel and carpets. So Farrukhí prospered in his service, and enjoyed the greatest circumstance. Then he waited upon Sultán Yamínu'd-Dawla

¹ I prefer the reading دُرَوِی to دَرَوِی, and Mírzá Muḥammad concurs.

² The Editor shews in a note (pp. ۱۶۶-۱۶۸ of the text) that *Khatlán* is the Persian and *Khuttal* the Arabic name of a place in Transoxiana celebrated for its fine horses, called *Khatti*.

Maḥmúd, who, seeing him thus magnificently equipped, regarded him with the same regard, and his affairs reached such a pitch of prosperity that twenty servants girt with silver girdles rode behind him.

ANECDOTE XVI.

In the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116-1117) the King of Islám, Sanjar the son of Maliksháh the Saljúq (may God prolong his existence and continue his exaltation to the heights!), chanced to be encamped at the spring season within the marches of Tús, in the plain of Turúq¹, where he remained for two months. There I, in hopes of obtaining some favour, joined his Court from Herát, having then nothing in the way of equipment (٤١) or provision. I composed a *qaṣída* and went to Mu'izzí the Poet-laureate, to seek an opening through him. Having looked at my poem, he tested me in several ways, and I satisfied his expectations. He then behaved in the most generous manner, and deemed it his duty to act in the way befitting so great a man.

One day I expressed in his presence a hope that fortune would be more favourable to me, and complained of my luck. He encouraged me, saying, "Thou hast laboured hard to acquire this science, and hast fully mastered it: surely this will have its effect. My own case was precisely similar; and good poetry has never yet been wasted. Thou hast a goodly share in this art: thy verse is even and melodious, and is still improving. Wait and see the advantages which thou wilt reap from this science. For though Fortune should at first be grudging, matters will eventually turn out as thou wishest.

"My father Burhání, the Poet-laureate (may God be merciful to him!) passed away from this transitory to that eternal world in the town of Qazwín in the early part of the reign of Maliksháh, entrusting me to the King in this verse, since then become famous²:—

من رقتم و فرزند من آمد خلف صدق ' اورا بخدا و بخداوند سپردم

*"I am flitting, but I leave a son behind me,
And commend him to my God and to my King."*

¹ This place is not mentioned in the geographies, but the Editor (p. ١٦٨ of the notes) believes it to be identical with the modern *Turuq*, a large village distant two parasangs from Mashhad on the road to Tíhrán.

² This verse, to which are added several others, is commonly ascribed to the Nizámu'l-Mulk, e.g. by Dawlatsháh (p. ٥٩ of my edition). Apart from the improbability that one who lay dying of a mortal wound would be in the mood to compose verses, we learn from this anecdote that the Nizámu'l-Mulk "had no opinion of poets because he had no skill in their art." The verse which gives his age as 94 at the time of his death, when he was in reality some fifteen or twenty years younger (born 408/1017, assassinated 485/1092), is alone enough to discredit the legend, while the authority of the *Chahár Maqála*, of which the author derived his information directly from Mu'izzí, the son of Burhání, is far superior to any other source of the story. Compare my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, pp. 188-193, and the Persian notes, pp. ١٦٨-١٦٩.

"So my father's salary and allowances¹ were transferred to me, and I became Maliksháh's court-poet, and spent a year in the King's service; yet during this time I was unable to see him save once from a distance, nor did I get one *dínár* of my salary or one maund of my allowances, while my expenditure was increased. I became involved in debt, and my brain was perplexed by my affairs. For that great Minister the Nizámu'l-Mulk (may God be merciful to him!), had no opinion of poetry, because he had no skill in it; nor did he pay any attention to any one except religious leaders and mystics.

"One day—it was the eve of the day on which [the new moon of] Ramaḍán was due [to appear], and I had not a farthing for all the expenses incidental to that month and the feast which follows it—I went thus sad at heart to the Amír 'Alí ibn Farámarz² 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, a man of royal parentage, a lover of poetry, and the intimate companion of the King, with whom he was connected by marriage and enjoyed the highest honour, and before whom he could speak boldly, for he held high rank under that administration. And he had already been my patron. I said, 'May my lord's life be long! Not all that the father could do (†) can the son do, nor does that which accrued to the father accrue to the son. My father was a bold and energetic man, and was sustained by his art, and the martyred King Alp Arslán, the lord of the world, entertained the highest opinion of him. But what he could do that can I not, for modesty forbids me, and my retiring disposition supports it. I have served [this prince] for a year, and have contracted debts to the extent of a thousand *dínárs*, and have not received a farthing. Crave permission, then, for thy servant to go to Níshápúr, and discharge his debts, and live on that which is left over, and pray for this victorious Dynasty.'

"'Thou speakest truly,' replied Amír 'Alí: 'We have all been at fault, but this shall be so no longer. The King, at the time of Evening Prayer, will come out to look for the new moon. Thou must be present there, and we will see what chance Fortune will offer.' Thereupon he at once ordered me to receive a hundred *dínárs* to defray my Ramaḍán expenses, and a purse³ containing

¹ According to the Editor's note (p. 171 of the text) *jámagí* is equivalent to the modern *mawḍjib* or *mustamirrí*, and means wages in cash, while *ijrá* (the modern *jíra*) means allowances, especially in kind.

² 'Alí ibn Farámarz the Kákwayhid is intended. See S. Lane-Poole's *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 145, and Mírzá Muḥammad's note on pp. 171–172 of the text. He is called *Dániád* ("son-in-law," but here in the wider sense of "sib") because in 469/1076–7 he married Maliksháh's paternal aunt, Arslán Khátún, widow of the Caliph al-Qá'im biamrilláh. He ultimately fell in battle in 488/1095.

³ *Muḥr* ordinarily means a seal, but Mírzá Muḥammad (p. 170 of the Persian notes) quotes other passages shewing that it was also used in the sense of a sealed purse, containing a definite and certified sum of money.

this sum in Nishápúr coinage was forthwith brought and placed before me. So I returned mightily well pleased, and made my preparations for Ramaḍán, and at the time of the Evening Prayer went to the entrance of the King's pavilion. It chanced that 'Alá'u'd-Dawla arrived at the very same moment, and I paid my respects to him. 'Thou hast done excellently well,' said he, 'and hast come punctually.' Then he dismounted and went in before the King.

"At sun-down the King came forth from his pavilion, with a cross-bow in his hand and 'Alá'u'd-Dawla on his right side. I ran forward to do obeisance. Amír 'Alí continued his kindnesses, and they then busied themselves in looking for the moon. The King, however, was the first to see it, whereat he was mightily pleased. Then 'Alá'u'd-Dawla said to me, 'O son of Burhání, say something original about this moon,' and I at once recited these two couplets:—

ای ماه چو ابروانِ یاری گوئی یا نی چو کمانِ شہریاری گوئی
نعلی زده از زرِ عیاری گوئی در گوشِ سپہر گوشواری گوئی

*"Methinks, O Moon, thou art our Prince's bow,
Or his curved eyebrow, which doth charm us so,
Or else a horse-shoe wrought of gold refined,
Or ring from Heaven's ear depending low."*

"When I had submitted these verses, Amír 'Alí applauded much, and the King said, 'Go, loose from the stable whichever horse thou pleasest'; for at that moment we were standing close to the stable. Amír 'Alí designated a horse which was brought out and given to my attendants, and which proved to be worth three hundred *dinārs* of Nishápúr. The King then went to his oratory, and I performed the evening prayer with him, after which we sat down to meat. At the table Amír 'Alí said, 'O son of Burhání! Thou hast not yet said anything about this favour conferred on thee by the lord of the world. (۱۳) Compose a quatrain at once!' I thereupon sprang to my feet, did obeisance and immediately recited these two verses just as they came to me:—

چون آتشِ خاطرِ مرا شاهِ بدید از خاکِ مرا ہر زہرِ ماہ کشید
چون آبِ یکی ترانہ از من بشنید چون بادِ یکی مرکبِ خاصرِ بخشید

*"The King beheld the fire which in me blazed:
Me from low earth above the moon he raised:
From me a verse, like water fluent, heard,
And swift as wind a noble steed conferred."*

"When I recited these verses 'Alá'u'd-Dawla warmly applauded me, and by reason of his applause the King gave me a thousand *dínars*. Then 'Alá'u'd-Dawla said, 'He hath not yet received his salary and allowances. To-morrow I will sit on the Minister's skirt until he writes a draft for his salary on Ispahán, and orders his allowances to be paid out of the treasury.' Said the King, 'Thou must do it, then, for no one else has sufficient assurance. And call this poet after my title.' Now the King's title was *Mu'izzu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín*, so Amír 'Alí called me 'Master Mu'izzí.' 'Amír Mu'izzí,' said the King, [correcting him]. And this noble and nobly born lord sowrought for me that next day, by the time of the afternoon prayer, I had received a thousand *dínars* as a gift, twelve hundred more as allowances, and likewise an order for a thousand maunds of corn. And when the month of Ramaḍán was past, he summoned me to court, and caused me to become the King's boon-companion. So my fortune began to improve, and thenceforth he made continuing provision for me, and to-day whatever I have I possess by the favour of that Prince. May God, blessed and exalted is He, rejoice his dust with the lights of His Mercy, by His Favour and His Grace!"

ANECDOTE XVII.

The House of Saljúq were all fond of poetry, but none more so than Ṭughánsháh ibn Alp Arslán¹, whose conversation and intercourse was entirely with poets, and whose favourite companions were almost all of this class—men such as Amír Abú 'Abdu'lláh Qurashí, Abú Bakr Azraqí², Abú Manşúr the son of Abú Yúsuf³, Shujá'í of Nasá, Aḥmad Badíhí⁴, Ḥaqqíqí and Nasímí, all of whom were ranked in his service, while many others kept coming and going, all departing with gifts and joyful countenances.

One day the King was playing backgammon with Aḥmad Badíhí. They were finishing a game for [a stake of] ten thousand [? *dirhams*], (44) and the Amír had two pieces in the sixth house and

¹ His full names and titles were *Shamsu'd-Dawla Abu'l-Fawáris Ṭughánsháh ibn Alp Arslán Muḥammad ibn Chaghri Beg ibn Miká'il ibn Saljúq*. During the reign of Alp Arslán he governed Khurásán from Herát. By Ridá-qulí Khán (*Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, i, 139) and other biographers he has been confused with Ṭughánsháh ibn Mu'ayyad Ay-ába. See the Editor's note on the text, pp. 170.—172, where many passages from poems in his praise by Azraqí are cited.

² See Note XX at the end, and the Editor's long note on pp. 174.—178 of the text; 'Awffí's *Lubáb*, ch. x, No. 3; Dawlatsháh (pp. 72-73 of my ed.), Ṭabaqa II, No. 1; and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, vol. i, pp. 139.—142.

³ Abú Manşúr 'Abdu'r-Rashíd ibn Aḥmad ibn Abí Yúsuf al-Hirawí. See 'Awffí's *Lubáb*, vol. ii, p. 71. A few lines lower in this story the author mentions having met him at Herát in 509/1115-6.

⁴ *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, i, p. 169. His *laqab* was Majdu'd-Dín and his *nisba* Sajáwandí.

Aḥmad Badíhí two pieces in the first house¹; and it was the Amír's throw. He threw with the most deliberate care, in order to cast two sixes, instead of which he threw two ones, whereat he was mightily vexed and lost his temper (for which, indeed, he had good cause), while his anger rose so high and reached such a pitch that each moment he was putting his hand to his sword, while his courtiers trembled like the leaves of a tree, seeing that he was a King, and withal a boy angered at such spite of Fortune.

Then Abú Bakr Azraqí arose, and, approaching the minstrels, recited this quatrain:—

گر شاه دو شش خواست دو يك زخم افتاد
تا ظن نبوی كه كعبتین داد نداد
آن زخم كه كرد رای شاهنشہ یاد
در خدمت شاه روی بر خاك نهاد

*"Reproach not Fortune with discourteous tricks,
If by the King, desiring double six,
Two ones were thrown; for whomso'er he calls
Face to the earth before him prostrate falls."*

When I was at Herát in the year A.H. 509 (A.D. 1115-1116), Abú Maṣṣúr the son of Abú Yúsuf related to me that the Amír Ṭughánsháh was so charmed and delighted with these two verses that he kissed Azraqí on the eyes, called for gold, and successively placed five hundred *díndars* in his mouth, continuing thus to reward him so long as one gold piece was left. Thus did he recover his good humour and such largesse did he bestow, and the cause of all this was one quatrain. May God Almighty have mercy on both of them, by His Favour and Grace!

ANECDOTE XVIII.

In the year A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079-1080)² a certain spiteful person laid a statement before Sultán Ibráhím to the effect that his son, Amír Maḥmúd Sayfu'd-Dawla, intended to go to 'Iráq to wait on Maliksháh. The King's jealousy was aroused, and it so worked on him that suddenly he had his son seized, bound, and interned

¹ For the explanation of this passage I am indebted to my friend Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Ghaffár of the Persian Legation. The six "houses" on each side of the backgammon board are named (proceeding from left to right) as follows: (1) *khál-khán* or *yak-gáh*, (2) *dú-khán*, (3) *sí-khán*, (4) *chahár-khán*, (5) *báf-dar*, (6) *shish-khán* or *shish-dar-gáh*. The numbers contained in these names allude to the numbers which must be thrown with the dice to get the pieces which occupy them off the board.

² The MSS. and L. all have "572," an evident error, for (1) Sultán Ibráhím the Ghaznawí reigned A.H. 451-492 (A.D. 1059-1099); (2) Maliksháh reigned A.H. 465-485 (A.D. 1072-1092); (3) the poet in question died in A.H. 515 or 525 (A.D. 1121 or 1130); (4) the *Chahár Maqála*, as we have already seen, was written during the lifetime of Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn *Jahán-súz*, i.e. before A.H. 556 (A.D. 1161).

in a fortress. His son's intimates (۴۰) also he arrested and interned, amongst them Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, whom he sent to Wajíristán¹, to the Castle of Náy²; whence he sent the following quatrain to the King:—

در بند تو ای شاه ملك شه باید ، تا بند تو پای تاجداری ساید
آن كس كه ز پُشتِ سعدِ سلمان آید ، گر زهر شود ملكِ ترا نگزاید

*"O King, 'tis Malik Shah should wear thy chain,
That royal limbs might fret with captive's pain,
But Sa'd-i-Salmán's offspring could not hurt,
Though venomous as poison, thy domain!"*

'Alí Kháṣṣ brought this quatrain to the King, but it produced no effect on him, though all wise and impartial critics will recognize what rank Mas'úd's "Songs of Prison" hold in lofty feeling, and what degree in eloquence. Sometimes, when I read his verses, the hair stands on end on my body, and the tears are like to trickle from my eyes. All these verses were read to the King, and he heard them, yet they affected him not at all, and not one particle of his being was warmed to enthusiasm, so that he departed from this world leaving that noble man in prison. Khwāja Salmán says*:—

مقصور شد مصالح كارِ جهانیان
بر حبس و بند این تن مهجور ناتوان
بر حبس و بند نیز ندارندم استوار
تا گرد من ندارد ده تن نگاهبان
هر ده نشسته بر در و در بامِ سجنِ من
با یكدگر دمامد گویند هر زمان
هان بر جهید زود كه حیلتهگریست او
كز آفتاب پل كند از سایه نردبان
گیرم كه ساخته شوم از بهرِ كارزار
بیرون چهارز گوشه این سجن ناگهان
با چند كس بر آیم در قلعه گرچه من
شیری شوم معرید و پیلی شوم دمان

¹ Mírzá Muḥammad (Persian notes, p. ۱۷۹) at first failed to identify Wajíristán, but now believes it to be identical with the modern Waziristán.

² The only mention of Náy hitherto discovered in Persian geographical works occurs in the *Nuṣṣatu'l-Qulúb*, where it is briefly mentioned in the section dealing with Marw-i-Sháhján.

³ These verses are inserted in the margin of A. (f. 20^a) only. They are omitted in the printed text.

پس بی سلاح جنگ چگونه کنم مگر،
 من سینه را سپر کنم و پشت را کمان،

*"Naught served the ends of statesmen save that I,
 A helpless exile, should in fetters lie,
 Nor do they deem me safe within their cells,
 Unless surrounded by ten sentinels;
 Which ten sit ever by the gates and walls,
 And ever one unto his comrade calls:
 'Ho there! On guard! This cunning rogue is one
 To fashion bridge and steps from shade and sun!'
 Why, grant I stood arrayed for such a fight,
 And suddenly sprang forth, attempting flight,
 Could elephant or raging lion hope,
 Thus cramped in prison-cage, with ten to cope?
 Can I, bereft of weapons, take the field,
 Or make of back and bosom bow and shield?"*

So, by reason of his relation to Sayfu'd-Dawla, he remained imprisoned for twelve¹ years in the days of Sultán Ibráhím, and, on account of his like relation to Abú Naṣr of Párs², for eight years more in the reign of Sultán Mas'úd ibn Ibráhím, though none hath been heard of who hath produced so many splendid elegies and rare gems of verse as were born of his brilliant genius. After eight years Thiqatu'l-Mulk Ṭáhir ibn 'Alí ibn Mushkán³ brought him forth from his bondage, so that, in short, during these two reigns this illustrious man spent all his life in captivity, and the ill repute of this deed remained on this noble House. I hesitate as to the motives which are to be assigned to this act, and whether it is to be ascribed to strength of purpose, recklessness, hardness of heart, or a malicious disposition. In any case it was not a laudable deed, and I have never met with any sensible man who was prepared to praise that administration for such inflexibility of purpose or excess of caution. And I heard it remarked by the King of the world Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-

¹ As Mírzá Muḥammad has pointed out (Persian notes, pp. ۱۷۹-۱۸۰) there is some confusion of facts here. Mas'úd suffered two separate periods of imprisonment, the first for ten years, of which seven were spent in Sú and Dahak (between Zaranj and Bust in Sístán), the second for seven or eight years in Maranj in India. Sultán Ibráhím's death took place in A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098-9), so that, if he was still suffering his first imprisonment at that time, it cannot have begun earlier than A.H. 482 (A.D. 1089-1090). We have Mas'úd's own authority for fixing the duration of his imprisonment at ten (not twelve) years. See his verses quoted at the top of p. ۱۸۰ of the Persian notes.

² Qiwámu'l-Mulk Nizámu'd-Dín Abú Naṣr Hibatu'lláh al-Fársí, a leading statesman during these two reigns and a friend and patron of our poet, fell into disgrace in the reign of Sultán Mas'úd, together with his clients and protégés. He died about 510/1116.

³ He was prime minister to Sultán Mas'úd ibn Ibráhím, and patron of many poets, including, besides Mas'úd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmán, Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rúnt, Mukhtári and Saná'í, all of whom have sung his praises. His uncle Abú Naṣr Maṣṣúr ibn Mushkán was secretary to Sultán Maḥmúd and Sultán Mas'úd, author of a volume of Memoirs and teacher of the historian Abu'l-Faḍl-i-Bayhaqí.

Dín Muḥammad¹, the son of Maliksháh, at the gates of Hamadán, on the occasion of the rebellion of his son-in-law (may God make fragrant their dust, and exalt their station in Paradise!) Amír Shihábu'd-Dín Qutulmush Alp Ghází, "It is the sign of a malicious heart to keep a foe imprisoned; for one of two things, either he is loyal or seditious. Then, if the former, it is an injustice to keep him in prison; and if the latter, it is again an injustice to suffer an ill-doer to live." (¶) In short that misery of Mas'úd passed, while this ill repute will endure till the Resurrection.

ANECDOTE XIX.

In the time of Sultán Khidr ibn Ibráhím² the power of the Kháqánís³ was at its most flourishing period, while the strength of their administration and the respect in which it was held were such as could not be surpassed.

Now he was a wise and just ruler and an ornament to the throne, and to him appertained the dominion of Transoxiana and Turkistán, while he enjoyed the most complete security on the side of Khurásán, wherewith he was allied by friendly relations, kinship, and firm treaties and covenants. And of the splendour maintained by him one detail was this, that when he rode out they carried before his horse, besides other arms, seven hundred maces of gold and silver. He was, moreover, a great patron of poets, and in his service were Amír 'Am'aq⁴, Master Rashídí, Najjár-i-Ságharchí, 'Alí Pánídhí, the son of Darghúsh, the son of Isfaráyíní, 'Alí Sipihí and Najfbí of Farghána, all of whom obtained rich rewards and vast honours. The Poet-Laureate was Amír 'Am'aq, who had profited abundantly by that dynasty and obtained the most ample circumstance, comprising Turkish slaves, fair damsels, well-paced horses, golden vessels, sumptuous apparel, and servants, biped and quadruped⁵, innumerable. He was greatly honoured at the King's Court, so that of necessity the other poets

¹ The seventh Saljúq king, who reigned A.H. 498-511 (A.D. 1104-1117). There is, as pointed out by Mírzá Muḥammad (pp. 185-186 of the Persian notes) an extraordinary confusion of dates and persons in this story. See also Note XXI at the end.

² Sultán Khidr Khán ibn Tafgháj Khán Ibráhím ibn Naṣr Arslán (known as Ilak) ibn 'Alí ibn Músá ibn Sutuq succeeded his brother Shamsu'l-Mulk Naṣr ibn Ibráhím in A.H. 474 (A.D. 1081-2), but died shortly afterwards. See Ibnu'l-Athír *sub anno* A.H. 408, and the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-árá* (Or. 141 of the British Museum, f. 133^a).

³ This Turkish Muslim dynasty, also known as Khániyya, Ilak Kháns, and Al-i-Afrásiyáb, reigned for about 230 lunar years (A.H. 380-609=A.D. 990-1212) in Transoxiana, and was finally overthrown by the Khwárazmsháhs. See S. Lane-Poole's *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, pp. 134-135; Note XXII at the end; and pp. 184-189 of the Persian notes.

⁴ Mention has already been made of all these poets on p. 51 of the text (= pp. 29-30 of this translation) with the exception of "the son of Isfaráyíní." See pp. 101-105 of the Persian notes, and Note XIV at the end.

⁵ Literally, "speaking and silent," or "articulate and dumb."

must needs do him reverence. Such homage as from the others he desired from Master Rashídí also, but herein he was disappointed, for Rashídí, though still young, was nevertheless learned in his art. The Lady Zaynab was the special object of his panegyrics, while all Khidr Khán's women were at his command, and he enjoyed the fullest favour of the King, who was continually praising him and asserting his merits, so that Rashídí's affairs prospered, the title of "Prince of poets"¹ was conferred on him, he continued to rise higher in the King's opinion, and from him received gifts of great value.

One day, in Rashídí's absence, the King asked 'Am'aq, "What thinkest thou of the verse of Rashídí, 'the Prince of poets'?" "His verse," replied he, "is extremely good and chaste and correct, but it wants a little spice."

After some while had elapsed, Rashídí (۱۷) came in and did obeisance, and was about to sit down when the King called him before himself, and said, teasing him as is the way of Kings, "I asked the Poet-Laureate just now, 'How is Rashídí's poetry?' He replied that it was good, but wanted spice. Now you must compose a couple of verses on this subject." Rashídí, with a bow, sat down in his place and improvised the following fragment:—

شعرهای مرا به بینمکی عیب کردی روا بود شاید
شعر من همچو شکر و شهدست و اندرین دو نمک نکو ناید
شلغم و باقلاست گفته تو نمک ای قلیبان ترا باید

*"You stigmatise my verse as 'wanting spice,'
And possibly, my friend, you may be right.
My verse is honey-flavoured, sugar-sweet,
And spice with such could scarcely cause delight.
Spice is for you, you blackguard, not for me,
For beans and turnips is the stuff you write!"*

When he submitted these verses the King was mightily pleased. And in Transoxiana it is the custom and practice to place in the audience-chambers of kings and others gold and silver in trays, which they call *sím-tāqá* or *juft*; and in this audience of Khidr Khán's there were set for largesse four trays of red gold, each containing two hundred and fifty *dínárs*; and these he used to dispense by the handful. On this day he ordered Rashídí to receive all four trays, so he obtained the highest honour, and became famous. For just as a patron becomes famous by the verse of a good poet, so do poets likewise achieve renown by receiving a great reward from the King, these two things being interdependent.

¹ Sayyidu'sh-Shu'ará.

ANECDOTE XX.

Master Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsí¹ was one of the Dihqáns (land-owners) of Tús, from a village called Bázh² in the district of Tabarán³, a large village capable of supplying a thousand men. There Firdawsí enjoyed an excellent position, so that he was rendered quite independent of his neighbours by the income which he derived from his lands, and he had but one child, a daughter. His one desire in putting the Book of Kings (*Sháh-náma*) into verse was, out of the reward which he might obtain for it, to supply her with an adequate dowry. He was engaged for twenty-five years on this work ere he (۴۸) finished the book, and to this end he left nothing undone, raising his verse as high as heaven, and causing it in sweet fluency to resemble running water. What genius, indeed, could raise verse to such a height as he does in the letter written by Zál to Sám the son of Naríman in Mázarán when he desired to ally himself with Rúdába the daughter of the King of Kábul⁴.—

يکى نامه فرمود نزديکِ سام، سراسر درود و نوید و سلام^۵
 نخست از جهان آفرين ياد کرد، که همداد فرمود و همداد کرد
 وزو باد بر سامِ نيرم درود، خداوند شمشير و گویال و خود
 چمانده^۶ چرمه هنگامِ کرد، چراننده^۶ کرگس اندر نبرد
 فزاینده^۶ باد آوردگاه، فشاننده^۶ خون ز ابرِ سیاه
 بمردي هنر در هنر ساخته، هنرش^۶ از هنر گردن افراخته

"Then to Sám straightway sent he a letter,
 Filled with fair praises, prayers and good greeting.
 First made he mention of the World-Maker,
 Who doom dispenseth and doom fulfilleth.
 'On Níram's son Sám,' wrote he, 'the sword-lord,
 Mail-clad and mace-girt, may the Lord's peace rest !

¹ This anecdote is cited by Ibn Isfandiýár in his *History of Tabaristán* (A.H. 613, A.D. 1216. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 202-204 and 533^b), whence it was excerpted and published, with a German translation, by Ethé (*Z.D.M.G.*, vol. xlviii, pp. 89-94). It was also utilized by Nöldeke in 1896 in his *Iranische Nationalepos* (*Grundriss d. Iran. Philologie*, vol. ii, pp. 150 *et seqq.*). A revised edition of this valuable monograph has just appeared (Berlin and Leipzig, 1920). The references here given are, unless otherwise specified, to the original edition.

² The *Burhán-i-Qdî* is the only Persian or Arabic book of reference which makes mention of this place as situated near Tús.

³ See Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, p. 151 (p. 25 of the new edition), and Yáqút, *s.v.* The city of Tús comprised the two districts of Tabarán (or Tábarán) and Núqán.

⁴ These verses (with some variants) will be found on pp. 124-125 of vol. i of Turner Macan's edition of the *Sháh-náma* (Calcutta, 1829).

⁵ The printed text has *سلام* for *خرام*.

⁶ The text has *هنرش* for *سرش*.

*Hurler of horse-troops in hot-contested fights,
Feeder of carrion-fowls with foemen's flesh-feast,
Raising the roar of strife on the red war-field,
From the grim war-clouds grinding the gore-shower.
Who, by his manly might merit on merit
Heaps, till his merit merit outmeasures¹."*

In eloquence I know of no poetry in Persian which equals this, and but little even in Arabic.

When Firdawsí had completed the *Sháhnáma*, it was transcribed by 'Alí Daylam² and recited by Abú Dulaf³, both of whom he mentions by name in tendering his thanks to Huyayy-i-Qutayba⁴, the governor of Tús, who had conferred on Firdawsí many favours:—

ازین نامه از نامداران شهر 'علی دیلم و بو دلف راست بهر'
نیامد جز اَحْسَنَتَشَان بهرهم 'بَكْفَت اندر اَحْسَنَتَشَان زهرهم'
حَمِی قَتِیبه است از آزادگان 'که از من نخواهد سخن رایگان'
نیم آگه از اصل و فرع خراج 'همی غلطم اندر میان دواج'

"Of the men of renown of this city 'Alí Daylam and Abú Dulaf have participated in this book.

From them my portion was naught save 'Well done!'

My gall-bladder was like to burst with their 'Well done⁴.'

Huyayy the son of Qutayba is a nobleman who asks me not for unrewarded verse.

I know nothing either of the root nor the branches of the land-tax;
I lounge [at ease] in the midst of my quilt⁵."

Huyayy the son of Qutayba was the revenue-collector of Tús, and deemed it his duty at least to abate the taxes payable by Firdawsí; hence naturally his name will endure till the Resurrection and Kings will read it.

So 'Alí Daylam transcribed the *Sháhnáma* in seven volumes, and Firdawsí, taking with him Abú Dulaf, set out for the Court of Ghazna. There, by the help of the great Minister Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan⁶, the secretary, he presented it, and it was accepted, Sulṭán

¹ Poor as this rendering is, I am strongly of opinion that for an English rendering of the *Sháhnáma* (which always seems to me very analogous in aim, scope, and treatment to that little-read English Epic, the Brut of Layamon) the old English alliterative verse would be the most suitable form.

² See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 153 (p. 27 of the new edition), and n. 2 *ad calc.*

³ So A. and L. B. has the more usual "Husayn b. Qutayba." Cf. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*

⁴ *I.e.* I am sick of their barren and unprofitable plaudits. As these poor men rendered him material service in other ways, Firdawsí's remarks seem rather ungrateful.

⁵ What follows is evidently an explanation of this couplet. Firdawsí means that being no longer vexed with the exactions of the tax-gatherer, he can now repose in peace.

⁶ This celebrated minister had the title *Shamsu'l-Kufāt* and the *nisba* of al-Maymandí. He died in 424/1033 after twenty years' service as Minister to Sulṭán Maḥmúd.

Maḥmúd expressing himself as greatly indebted to his Minister. But the Prime Minister had enemies who were continually casting the dust of misrepresentation into the cup of his rank, and Maḥmúd (۴۹) consulted with them as to what he should give Firdawsí. They replied, "Fifty thousand *dirhams*, and even that is too much, seeing that he is in belief a Ráfidí and a Mu'tazilite. Of his Mu'tazilite views this verse is a proof:—

به بینندگان آفریننده را نبینی مرنجان دو بیننده را

*'Thy gaze the Creator can never descry;
Then wherefore, by gazing, dost weary thine eye?'*

"while to his Ráfidí proclivities these verses of his witness:—

خردمند گیتی چو دریا نهاد بر انگیخته موج از آن تند باد
چو هفتاد کشتی دران ساخته همه بادبانها بر افراخته
میانه یکی خوب کشتی عروس بر آراسته همچو چشم خروس
پیمبر بدو اندرون با علی همه اهل بیت نبی و ولی
اگر خلد خواهی بدیگر سرای بنزد نبی و وصی گیر جای
گوت زین بد آید گناه منست چنین دان و این راه راه منست
برین زادم و هر برین بگذرم یقین دان که خاک پی حیدرم

*'The wise man conceives the world as a sea, wherefrom the fierce wind has stirred up waves.
Thereon are seventy ships¹ afloat, all with sails set,
And amongst them one vessel, fair as a bride, decked with colour like the eye of the cock,
Wherein are the Prophet and 'Alí, with all the Family of the Prophet and his Vicar.
If thou desirest Paradise in the other World, take thy place by the Prophet and his Trustee.
If ill accrues to thee thereby, it is my fault: know this, that this way is my way.
In this I was born, and in this I will pass away: know for a surety that I am as dust at feet of 'Alí.'*"

Now Sulṭán Maḥmúd was a zealot, and he listened to these imputations and caught hold of them, and in all only twenty thousand *dirhams* were paid to Ḥakím Firdawsí. He was bitterly disappointed, went to the bath, and, on coming out, bought a draft of sherbet², and divided the money between the bath-man and the sherbet-seller. Knowing, however, Maḥmúd's

¹ That is the seventy (or seventy-two) sects of Islám "all of which are doomed to Hell-fire save one which shall be saved."

² *Fuqá'*, described as a kind of beer. See Schlimmer's *Terminologie Pharmaceutique* (lith. Tíhrán, 1874), p. 75, and Abdul-Chalig Akhundów's German translation, with notes, of the Pharmacology of Abú Mansúr Muwaffaq ibn 'Alí al-Hirawí, pp. 241 and 388-389.

severity, he fled from Ghazna by night, and alighted in Herát at the shop of Azraqí's father, Isma'íl the bookseller (*Warráq*), where he remained in hiding for six months, until Maḥmúd's messengers had reached Tús and had turned back thence, when Firdawsí, feeling secure, set out from Herát for Tús, taking the *Sháhnáma* with him. Thence he came to Ṭabaristán to the Sipahbad Shahriyár¹ of the House of Báwand, who was King there; and this is a noble house which traces its descent from Yazdigird² the son of Shahriyár.

Then Firdawsí wrote a satire of a hundred couplets on Sulṭán Maḥmúd in the Preface, and read it to Shahriyár³, saying, "I will dedicate this book to you instead of to Sulṭán Maḥmúd, for this book deals wholly with the legends and deeds of thy forebears." Shahriyár treated him with honour and shewed him many kindnesses, and said, "O Master, Maḥmúd was induced to act thus by others, who did not submit your book to him under proper conditions, (••) and misrepresented you. Moreover you are a Shí'ite, and whosoever loves the Family of the Prophet his worldly affairs will prosper no more than theirs. Maḥmúd is my liege-lord: let the *Sháhnáma* stand in his name, and give me the satire which you have written on him, that I may expunge it and give you some little recompense; and Maḥmúd will surely summon thee and seek to satisfy thee fully, for the labour spent on such a book must not be wasted." And next day he sent Firdawsí 100,000 *dirhams*, saying, "I buy each couplet at a thousand *dirhams*, give me those hundred couplets, and be reconciled to Maḥmúd." So Firdawsí sent him these verses, and he ordered them to be expunged; and Firdawsí also destroyed his rough copy of them, so that this satire was done away with and only these six verses of it remained⁴:—

مرا غمز کردند گانِ پر سخن، بهر نبی و علی شد کهن،
اگر مهرشان من حکایت کنم، چو محمود را صد حمایت کنم،
پرستار زاده نیاید بکار، و گر چند باشد پدر شهریار،
ازین در سخن چند رانم همی، چو دریا کرانه ندانم همی،
به نیکی نبند شاه را دستگاه، و گرنه مرا بر نشاندی بگاه،
چو اندر تبارش بزرگی نبود، ندانست نامِ بزرگان شنود،

¹ The MSS. have Shahrzád and the lithographed edition Shírzád, both of which readings are erroneous. The correct reading Shahriyár is given by Ibn Isfandiyyár in his citation of this passage. His full genealogy, with references to the histories in which mention is made of him, is given on p. 190 of the Persian notes.

² The last Sásanian king.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*, p. 155, and n. 4 *ad calc.*

⁴ This is a remarkable statement, and, if true, would involve the assumption that the well-known satire, as we have it, is spurious. Cf. Nöldeke (*op. cit.*), pp. 155-156, and n. 1 on the latter, and pp. 30-31 of his new edition of *Das Iran. Nationalepos*.

"*They cast imputations on me, saying, 'That man of many words
Hath grown old in the love of the Prophet and 'Alī.'
If I speak of my love for these
I can protect a hundred such as Maḥmūd.
No good can come of the son of a slave,
Even though his father hath ruled as King.
How long shall I speak on this subject?
Like the sea I know no shore.
The King had no aptitude for good,
Else would he have seated me on a throne.
Since in his family there was no nobility
He could not bear to hear the names of the noble.'*"

In truth good service was rendered to Maḥmūd by Shahriyār, and Maḥmūd was greatly indebted to him.

When I was at Nishápúr in the year A.H. 514 (A.D. 1120-1121), I heard Amír Mu'izzī say that he had heard Amír 'Abdu'r-Razzāq at Tūs relate as follows: "Maḥmūd was once in India, and was returning thence towards Ghazna. On the way, as it chanced, there was a rebellious chief possessed of a strong fortress, and next day Maḥmūd encamped at the gates of it, and sent an ambassador to him, bidding him come before him on the morrow, do homage, pay his respects at the Court, receive a robe of honour and return to his place. Next day Maḥmūd rode out with the Prime Minister¹ on his right hand, for the ambassador had turned back and was coming to meet the King. 'I wonder,' said the latter to the Minister, 'what answer he will have given?' Thereupon the Minister recited this verse of Firdawsī's:—

اگر جز بکام من آید جواب، من و گرز و میدان و افراسیاب

*'Should the answer come contrary to my wish,
Then for me the mace, and the field [of battle], and Afrásiyāb.'* (۵۱)

'Whose verse,' enquired Maḥmūd, 'is that, for it is one to inspire courage?' 'Poor Abu'l-Qásim Firdawsī composed it,' answered the Minister; 'he who laboured for five and twenty years to complete such a work, and reaped from it no advantage.' 'You have done well,' said Maḥmūd, 'to remind me of this, for I deeply regret that this noble man was disappointed by me. Remind me at Ghazna to send him something.'

"So when the Minister returned to Ghazna, he reminded Maḥmūd, who ordered Firdawsī to be given sixty thousand *dīnārs* worth of indigo, and that this indigo should be carried to Tūs on the King's own camels, and that apologies should be made to Firdawsī. For years the Minister had been working for this, and at length he had achieved his work; so now he despatched the camels, and the indigo arrived safely at Ṭabarán².

¹ *Khawāja-i-Buzurg*. This was the title commonly given to *Shamsu'l-Kuḥḥat* Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan al-Maymandī. See n. 6 at the foot of p. 55 *supra*.

² Ṭabarán is the name of a portion of the city of Tūs. See B. de Meynard's *Diat. de la Perse*, pp. 374-375, and p. 54 *supra*, n. 3 *ad calc.*

But as the camels were entering through the Rúdbár Gate, the corpse of Firdawsí was being borne forth from the Gate of Razán¹. Now at this time there was in Tabarán a preacher whose fanaticism was such that he declared that he would not suffer Firdawsí's body to be buried in the Musulmán Cemetery, because he was a Ráfidí (Shí'a); and nothing that men could say served to move this doctor. Now within the Gate there was a garden belonging to Firdawsí, and there they buried him, and there he lies to this day." And in the year A.H. 510 (A.D. 1116-1117) I visited his tomb².

They say that Firdawsí left a daughter, of very lofty spirit, to whom they would have given the King's gift; but she would not accept it, saying, "I need it not." The Post-master wrote to the Court and represented this to the King, who ordered that doctor to be expelled from Tabarán as a punishment for his officiousness, and to be exiled from his home, and the money to be given to the Imám Abú Bakr ibn Isháq-i-Kirámi³ for the repair of the rest-house of Cháha, which stands on the road between Merv and Nishápúr on the boundaries of Tús. When this order reached Tús it was faithfully carried out; and the restoration of the rest-house of Cháha was effected by this money.

ANECDOTE XXI.

At the period when I was in the service of my Lord the King of the Mountains⁴ (may God illuminate (••) his tomb and exalt his station in Paradise!), that august personage had a high opinion of me, and shewed himself a most generous patron towards me. Now on the Festival of the Breaking of the Fast one of the nobles of the city of Balkh (may God maintain its prosperity!), Amír 'Amíd Šafíyyu'd-Dín Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn Rawánsháhi, came to the Court. He was a young man, accomplished and highly esteemed, an expert writer, a qualified secretary of state, well endowed with culture and its fruits, popular with all, whose praises were on all tongues. And at this time I was not in attendance.

¹ See Nöldeke's new edition of his *Pers. Nationalepos*, p. 32, n. 2 *ad calc.* There are several places called *Rúdbár*, of which one situated near Tabarán is probably meant. See B. de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 266. A *Razán* in Sístán is mentioned by al-Baládhuri (pp. 396-397), and another (روذان) in the district of Nasá in Khurásán (*Dict. de la Perse*, p. 259).

² I am not sure at what point the inverted commas should be inserted, but the last sentence of this paragraph is certainly Nizámi's.

³ This divine, Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Isháq ibn Maḥmashád, was the head of the Kirámi sect at Nishápúr, and his biography is given in the *Ta'rikhu'l-Yamini* (ed. Cairo, pp. 309-330). The Kirámi sect inclined to anthropomorphism. A full account of their doctrines will be found in Shahrastáni's *Kitábu'l-Milal wa'n-Nihál*.

⁴ This, as already stated, was the title assumed by the kings of Ghúr generally, and by the first of them, Qutbu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Izzu'd-Dín Husayn, especially. He it was whose death was avenged by his brother Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dín *Jahán-súz* in the sack of Ghazna, and who was our author's patron. See Note XV at the end.

Now at a reception the King chanced to say, "Call Nizámí." Said the Amír 'Amíd Šafiyu'd-Dín, "Is Nizámí here?" They answered "Yes." But he supposed that it was Nizámí-Munírí¹. "Ah," said he, "a fine poet and a man of wide fame!" When the messenger arrived to summon me, I put on my shoes, and, as I entered, did obeisance, and sat down in my place. When the wine had gone round several times, Amír 'Amíd said, "Nizámí has not come." "He is come," replied the King; "see, he is seated over there." "I am not speaking of this Nizámí," answered Amír 'Amíd, "that Nizámí of whom I speak is another one, and as for this one, I do not even know him." Thereupon I saw that the King was vexed; he at once turned to me and said, "Is there somewhere else another Nizámí besides thee?" "Yes, Sire," I answered, "there are two other Nizámís, one of Samarqand, whom they call Nizámí-i-Munírí, and one of Níshápúr, whom they call Nizámí-i-Athírí; while me they call Nizámí-i-'Arúdí." "Art thou better, or they?" demanded he. Then Amír 'Amíd perceived that he had made an unfortunate remark and that the King was annoyed. "Sire," said he, "those two Nizámís are quarrelsome fellows, apt to break up and spoil social gatherings by their quarrelsomeness." "Wait," said the King jestingly, "till you see this one drain five bumpers of strong wine² and break up the meeting: but of these three Nizámís which is the best poet?" "Of those two," said the Amír 'Amíd, "I have personal knowledge, having seen them, while this one I have not previously seen, nor have I heard his poetry. If he will compose a couple of verses on this subject which we have been discussing, so that I may see his talents and hear his verse, I will tell you which of these three is best."

Then the King turned to me, saying, "Now, O Nizámí, do not shame us, (۰۳) and when thou speakest say what 'Amíd desires."

Now at that time, when I was in the service of this sovereign, I possessed a prolific talent and a brilliant genius, and the favours and gifts of the King had stimulated me to such a point that my improvisations came fluent as running water; so I took up a pen, and, ere the wine-cup had gone twice round, composed these five couplets:—

در جهان سه نظامیبر ای شاه که جهانی ز ما بافغانند
من بورساده پیش تخت شهر و آن دو در مرو پیش سلطانند
بحقیقت که در سخن امروز هر یکی مفخر خراسانند

¹ The reading of this *nisha* is very doubtful in all three texts, both here and lower. In some it appears to read *Minbart*.

² The correct reading, *si-yakl*, is that given in the text, not *sangl*, which most of the MSS. have. It is wine reduced by evaporation to one-third of its original bulk; in Arabic it is similarly called *muthallath*. See the *Anjuman-árdyi-Náşirí*, s.v.

گرچه همچون روان سخن گویند ' ورچه همچون خرد سخن دانند '
 من شرابم که شان چو در یابم ' هر دو از کار خود فرو مانند '

"We are three Nizámís in the world, O King, on account of whom a whole world is filled with outcry.
 I am at Warsád¹ before the King's throne, while those two others are in Merv before the Sultán.
 To-day, in truth, in verse each one is the Pride of Khurásán.
 Although they utter verse subtle as spirit, and although they understand the Art of Speech like Wisdom,
 I am the Wine, for, when I get hold of them, both desist from their work."

When I submitted these verses, the Amír 'Amíd Safiyyu'd-Dín bowed and said, "O King, let alone the Nizámís, I know of no poet in all Transoxiana, 'Iráq, or Khurásán capable of improvising five such verses, more especially in respect of strength, energy, and sweetness, conjoined with such grace of diction and filled with ideas so original. Be of good cheer, O Nizámí, for thou hast no peer on the face of the earth. O Sire, he hath a graceful wit, a mind strong in apprehension, and a finished art. The good fortune of the King of the age and his generosity (may God exalt them!) hath increased them, and he will become a unique genius, and will become even more than this, for he is young, and hath many days before him."

Thereat the countenance of my King and Lord brightened mightily; a great cheerfulness appeared in his gracious temperament, and he applauded me, saying, "I give thee the lead-mine of Warsád from this Festival until the Festival of the Sheep-sacrifice². Send an agent there." I did so, sending Isháq the Jew. It was the middle of summer and the time of active work, and they melted much of the ore, so that in seventy days twelve thousand maunds of lead appertaining to the tithe³ accrued to me, while the King's opinion of me was increased a thousand-fold. May God (blessed and exalted is He) illuminate his august ashes with the light of His approval and rejoice his noble soul by the accumulation of wealth, by His Favour and Grace!

¹ Warsád or Warshád was the residence of this king, Qutbu'd-Dín Muḥammad, in Ghúr, as mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣirī* (Raverty's translation, p. 339).

² *I.e.* from the end of Ramaḍán until the 10th of Dhu'l-Hijja, a period of two months and ten days.

³ The exact meaning of this sentence is not clear even to the learned editor Mírzá Muḥammad (p. 195 of the Persian notes). He suggests that our author, Nizámí, was a Sayyid, or descendant of the Prophet, and that the *khums*, or fifth part of the profits, to which Sayyids are entitled, was in this case made over wholly to him. If this be the meaning, we should probably read *dar izá'ī khums* for *az án-i-khums*. An alternative conjecture is to read *bi-dún-i-khums*, and to translate "not counting the *khums*," *i.e.* that the net profit, after deducting the *khums* or tithe, was 12,000 maunds of lead.

(••) THIRD DISCOURSE.

On the Lore of the Stars and the excellence of the Astronomer in that Science.

Abú Rayhán al-Bírúní¹ says, in the first chapter of his "Explanation of the Science of Astronomy" (*Kitábu't-Tafhím fi šind'ati't-Tanfím*)²:—"A man doth not merit the title of Astronomer until he hath attained proficiency in four sciences; *first*, Geometry; *secondly*, Arithmetic; *thirdly*, Cosmography; and *fourthly*, Judicial Astrology."

Now *Geometry* is that science whereby are known the dispositions of lines and the shapes of plane surfaces and solid bodies, the general relations existing between determinates and determinants, and the relation between them and what has position and form. Its principles are included in the book of Euclid the Geometrician³ in the recension of Thábit ibn Qurra⁴.

Arithmetic is that science whereby are known the nature of all sorts of numbers, especially each species thereof in itself; the nature of their relation to one another; their generation from each other; and the applications thereof, such as halving, doubling, multiplication, division, addition, subtraction, and Algebra. The principles thereof are contained in the book of the Ἀριθμητική, and the applications in the "Supplement" (*Takmila*) of Abú Manšúr of Baghdád⁵, and the "Hundred Chapters" (*Šad Báb*) of as-Sajzí⁶.

Cosmography is that science whereby are known the nature of the Celestial and Terrestrial Bodies, their shapes and positions, their relations to one another, and the measurements and distances which are between them, together with the nature of the movements of the stars and heavens, and the co-ordination of the spheres and segments whereby these movements are fulfilled.

¹ The best account of this great scholar is that given by Dr Edward Sachau in the German Introduction to his edition of *al-Áthdr'u'l-Báqiya* (Leipzig, 1876), and, in a shorter form, in his English translation of the same (London, 1879). The substance of this is given by Mirzá Muḥammad on pp. ۱۹۳-۱۹۷ of the Persian notes. See Note XXIII at the end.

² This book was composed simultaneously in Arabic and Persian in A.H. 420 (A.D. 1029). There is a fine old MS. of the Persian version dated A.H. 685 (A.D. 1286), and bearing the class-mark Add. 7697, in the British Museum. See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 451-452.

³ *Najjár*, literally, "the Carpenter."

⁴ I take this to be the sense of *كه ثابت بن قره دستي کرده است*. Concerning Thábit ibn Qurra, see Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arabischen Aerzte*, pp. 34-36; Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litteratur*, vol. i, pp. 217-218, etc. He was born in A.H. 221 (A.D. 836) and died in A.H. 288 (A.D. 901).

⁵ Abú Manšúr 'Abdu'l-Qáhir ibn Táhír al-Baghdádí, d. A.H. 429 (A.D. 1037). See Hájji Khalifa, No. 3253.

⁶ Abú Sa'id Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalíl as-Sajzí (or Sijazí, i.e. of Sajistán or Sistán). See Brockelmann, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 219, and Note XXIII at the end.

This science is contained in [Ptolemy's] *Almagest*, whereof the best commentaries (••) and elucidations are the Commentary of Nayríz¹ and the *Almagest* in the *Shifá*². And amongst the applications of this science is the science of Astronomical Tables and Almanacs.

Judicial Astrology is a branch of Natural Science, and its special use is prognostication, by which is meant the deducing by analogy from the configurations of the stars in relation to one another, and from an estimation of their degrees in the zodiacal signs, the fulfilment of those events which are brought about by their movements, such as the conditions of the world-cycles, empires, kingdoms, cities, nativities, changes, transitions, decisions, and other questions. It is contained, as above defined by us, in the writings of Abú Ma'shar of Balkh³, Ahmad [ibn Muhammad] ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalíl-i-Sajzí⁴, Abú Rayhán Bírúní⁵, and Kúshyár-i-Jílí⁶.

So the astrologer must be a man of acute mind, approved character, and great natural intelligence, though apparently [some degree of] folly, madness and a gift for soothsaying are amongst the conditions and essentials of this branch [of the subject]. And the Astrologer who would pronounce prognostications must have the Part of the Unseen⁷ in his own Ascendant, or in a position which stands well in relation to the Ascendant, while the Lord of the Mansion of the Part of the Unseen must be fortunate and in a favourable position, in order that such pronouncements as he gives may be near the truth. And one of the conditions of being a good astrologer is that he should know by heart the whole of the "Compendium of Principles" (*Mujmalu'l-Usúl*) of Kúshyár⁸, and should continually study the "Opus Major⁹," and should look frequently into the *Qánún-i-Mas'údí*¹⁰ and the *Jámi'-i-Sháhi*¹⁰, so that his knowledge and concepts may be refreshed.

¹ Abu'l-'Abbás al-Fadl ibn Hátam of Nayríz (near Dárábjird in Fárs). He flourished in the latter half of the third century of the Flight (late ninth and early tenth of the Christian era).

² Presumably Avicenna's great philosophical work of this name is intended.

³ See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, pp. 221-222, pp. 198-9 of the Persian notes, and Note XXIII at the end.

⁴ See n. 6 on p. 62 *supra*.

⁵ See n. 1 on p. 62 *supra*.

⁶ See *Ibid.*, pp. 222-223. Kiyá Abu'l-Hasan Kúshyár ibn Labbán ibn Báshahrí al-Jílí (of Gilán) was a very notable astronomer who flourished in the second half of the fourth century of the Flight (tenth of the Christian era). A fine MS. of his *Mujmal* (Add. 7490) exists in the British Museum. See also p. 505 of the Persian notes, and Note XXIII at the end.

⁷ For this and other Astrological terms see Note XXIV at the end.

⁸ *Kár-i-Mihlar* by Hasan ibnu'l-Khashib, a notable astronomer of the second century of the Flight.

⁹ Composed about A.D. 1031-6 for Sultán Mas'úd, to whom it is dedicated, by al-Bírúní. A fine MS. transcribed at Baghdád in 570/1174-5 is described in Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, pp. 513-519.

¹⁰ A collection of fifteen treatises by Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalíl as-Sajzí, a notable astronomer who flourished in the latter half of the tenth century of the Christian era. See p. 62 *supra*, n. 6 *ad calc.*

ANECDOTE XXII.

Ya'qúb ibn Isháq al-Kindí¹, though he was a Jew, was the philosopher of his age and the wisest man of his time, and stood high in the service of al-Ma'mún. One day he came in before al-Ma'mún, and sat down above one of the prelates of Islám. Said this man, "Thou art of a subject race; why then dost thou sit above the prelates of Islám?" "Because," said Ya'qúb, "I know what thou knowest, while thou knowest not what I know."

Now this prelate knew of his skill in Astrology, but had no knowledge of his other attainments in science. "I will write down," said he, "something on a piece of paper, and if thou canst divine what I have written, I will admit thy claim." Then they laid a wager, on the part of the prelate a cloak, and on the part of Ya'qúb (•١) a mule and its trappings, worth a thousand *dínárs*, which was standing at the door. Then the former asked for an inkstand and paper, wrote something on a piece of paper, placed it under the Caliph's quilt, and cried, "Out with it!" Ya'qúb ibn Isháq asked for a tray of earth, rose up, took the altitude, ascertained the Ascendant, drew an astrological figure on the tray of earth, determined the positions of the stars and located them in the Signs of the Zodiac, and fulfilled all the conditions of divination and thought-reading². Then he said, "O Commander of the Faithful, on that paper he has written something which was first a plant and then an animal." Al-Ma'mún put his hand under the quilt and drew forth the paper, on which was written "The Rod of Moses." Ma'mún was filled with wonder, and the prelate expressed his astonishment. Then Ya'qúb took the cloak of his adversary, and cut it in two before al-Ma'mún, saying, "I will make it into two putties."

This matter became generally known in Baghdád, whence it spread to 'Iráq and Khurásán, and became widely diffused. A certain doctor of Balkh³, prompted by that fanatical zeal which characterises the learned, took a knife and placed it in the middle of a book on Astrology, intending to go to Baghdád, attend the lectures of Ya'qúb ibn Isháq al-Kindí, make a beginning in Astrology, and, when he should find a suitable opportunity, suddenly kill him. Stage by stage he advanced in this resolve, until he reached Baghdád, went in to the hot bath and came out, arrayed himself in clean clothes, and, placing the book in his sleeve, set out for Ya'qúb's house.

¹ See Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 21-22. He died about A.H. 260 (A.D. 873). The author's assertion that the celebrated al-Kindí, called *par excellence* "the Philosopher of the Arabs," was a Jew, is, as the Editor has pointed out (Persian notes, pp. ٢٠٩-٢٠١), so absurd as to go near to discrediting the whole story.

² *Khabý* means guessing the nature of a hidden object and *damír* of a hidden thought, according to al-Birúní's *Tafhím*. See Note XXIV at the end.

³ *I.e.* Abú Ma'shar, as appears from the conclusion of the story.

When he reached the gate of the house, he saw standing there many handsomely-caparisoned horses belonging to descendants of the Prophet¹ and other eminent and notable persons of Baghdád. Having made enquiries, he went in, entered the circle in front of Ya'qúb, greeted him, and said, "I desire to study somewhat of the Science of the Stars with our Master." "Thou hast come from the East to slay me, not to study Astrology," replied Ya'qúb, "but thou wilt repent of thine intention, study the Stars, attain perfection in that science, and become one of the greatest Astrologers amongst the People of Muḥammad (on whom be God's Blessing and Peace)." All the great men there assembled were astonished at these words; and Abú Ma'shar² confessed and produced the knife from the middle of the book, broke it, and cast it away. Then he bent his knees and studied for fifteen years, until he attained in Astrology that eminence which was his. (6v)

ANECDOTE XXIII.

It is related that once when *Yamínu'd-Dawla* Sultán Maḥmúd ibn Násiru'd-Dín³ was sitting on the roof of a four-doored summer-house in Ghazna, in the Garden of a Thousand Trees, he turned his face to Abú Rayḥán⁴ and said, "By which of these four doors shall I go out?" (for all four were practicable). "Decide and write the decision on a piece of paper, and put it under my quilt." Abú Rayḥán called for an astrolabe, took the altitude, determined the Ascendant, reflected for a while, and then wrote down his decision on a piece of paper, and placed it under the quilt. "Hast thou decided?" asked Maḥmúd. He answered, "I have."

Then Maḥmúd bade them bring a navvy with pick-axe and spade, and in the wall which was on the eastern side they dug out a fifth door, through which he went out. Then he bade them bring the paper. So they brought it, and on it Abú Rayḥán had written, "He will go out through none of these four doors, but they will dig a fifth door in the eastern wall, by which door he will go forth." Maḥmúd, on reading this, was furious, and bade them cast Abú Rayḥán down in the midst of the palace, and so they did. Now there was stretched a net from the middle floor, and on it Abú Rayḥán fell. The net tore, and he subsided gently to the ground, so that he received no injury. "Bring him in," said Maḥmúd. So they brought him in, and Maḥmúd said, "O Abú Rayḥán, at all events thou didst not know about this event!"

¹ Literally, "of the Banú Hášhim."

² See n. 3 on p. 63 *supra* and Note XXIII at the end.

³ *I.e.* the great Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (reigned A.H. 388-421, A.D. 998-1030).

⁴ Al-Bírúní. See n. 1 on p. 62 *supra*, and Note XXIII at the end.

"I knew it, Sire," answered he. Said Maḥmúd, "Where is the proof?" So Abú Rayḥán called for his servant, took the Almanac from him, and produced the prognostications out of the Almanac; and amongst the predictions of that day was written:—"To-day they will cast me down from a high place, but I shall reach the earth in safety, and arise sound in body."

All this was not according to Maḥmúd's mind. He waxed still angrier, and ordered Abú Rayḥán to be detained in the citadel. So Abú Rayḥán was confined in the citadel of Ghazna, where he remained for six months.

ANECDOTE XXIV.

It is said that during that period of six months none dared speak to Maḥmúd about Abú Rayḥán; (•) but one of his servants was deputed to wait upon him, and go out to get what he wanted, and return therewith. One day this servant was passing through the Park (*Marghzár*) of Ghazna when a fortune-teller called him and said, "I perceive several things worth mentioning in your fortune: give me a present, that I may reveal them to you." The servant gave him two *dirhams*, whereupon the Sooth-sayer said, "One dear to thee is in affliction, but ere three days are past he will be delivered from that affliction, will be invested with a robe of honour and mark of favour, and will again become distinguished and ennobled."

The servant proceeded to the citadel and told this incident to his master as a piece of good tidings. Abú Rayḥán laughed and said, "O foolish fellow, dost thou not know that one ought not to loiter in such places? Thou hast wasted two *dirhams*." It is said that the Prime Minister Aḥmad ibn Ḥasan of Maymand (may God be merciful to him!) was for six months seeking an opportunity to say a word on behalf of Abú Rayḥán. At length, when engaged in the chase, he found the King in a good humour, and, working from one topic to another, he brought the conversation round to Astrology. Then he said, "Poor Abú Rayḥán uttered two such good prognostications, and, instead of decorations and a robe of honour, earned only bonds and imprisonment." "Know, my lord," replied Maḥmúd, "for I have discovered it, and all men admit it, that this man has no equal in the world save Abú 'Alí [ibn] Síná (Avicenna). But both his prognostications were opposed to my will; and kings are like little children; in order to receive rewards from them, one should speak in accordance with their views. It would have been better for him on that day if one of those two prognostications had been wrong. But to-morrow order him to be brought forth, and to be given a horse caparisoned with gold, a royal robe, a satin turban, a thousand *dinārs*, a boy slave and a handmaiden."

So, on the very day specified by the sooth-sayer, they brought forth Abú Rayḥán, and the gift of honour detailed above was conferred upon him, and the King apologized to him, saying, "O Abú Rayḥán, if thou desirest to reap advantage from me, speak according to my desire, not according to the dictates of thy science." So thereafter Abú Rayḥán altered his practice; and this is one of the conditions of the king's service, that one must be with him in right or wrong, and speak according to his wish¹.

Now when Abú Rayḥán went to his house and the learned came to congratulate him, he related to them the incident of the sooth-sayer, whereat they were amazed, (••) and sent to summon him. They found him quite illiterate, knowing nothing. Then Abú Rayḥán said, "Hast thou the horoscope of thy nativity?" "I have," he replied. Then he brought the horoscope and Abú Rayḥán examined it, and the Part of the Unseen fell directly on the degree of his Ascendant, so that whatever he said, though he spoke blindly, came near to the truth.

ANECDOTE XXV.

I had in my employment a woman-servant, who was born on the 28th of Šafar, A.H. 511² (July 1st, A.D. 1117), when the Moon was in conjunction with the Sun and there was no distance between them, so that in consequence of this the Part of Fortune and the Part of the Unseen both fell on the degree of the Ascendant. When she reached the age of fifteen years, I taught her Astrology, in which she became so skilful that she could answer difficult questions in this science, and her prognostications came mighty near the truth. Ladies used to come to her and question her, and the most part of what she said coincided with the pre-ordained decrees of Fate.

One day an old woman came to her and said, "It is now four years since a son of mine went on a journey and I have no news of him, neither of his life nor of his death. See whether he is of the living or the dead, and wherever he is acquaint me with his condition." So the woman-astrologer arose, took the altitude, worked out the degree of the Ascendant, drew out an astrological figure, and determined the positions of the stars; and the very first words she said were, "Thy son hath returned!"

The old woman was annoyed and said, "O child, I have no hopes of his coming: tell me this much, is he alive or dead?"

¹ Cf. *Gulistán*, ed. Platts, p. 40, last two lines.

² A. and B. have "512," and L. "510." Although the text has عَجُوزَه, "an old woman," I have substituted "a woman-servant" as more appropriate, for since she was born in A.H. 511 and the *Chahār Maqāla* was composed about A.H. 551 or 552, she can only have been at most about forty years of age, even if the incident described took place shortly before it was here recorded.

"I tell you," said the other, "thy son hath come. Go, and if he hath not come, return that I may tell thee how he is."

So the old woman went to her house, and lo, her son had arrived and they were unloading his ass. She embraced him, took two veils, and brought them to the woman-astrologer, saying, "Thou didst speak truly; my son hath come," and gave her a blessing with her present. When I came home and heard tidings of this, I enquired of her, "By what indication didst thou speak, and from what house didst thou deduce this prognostication?" She answered, "I had not reached so far as this. When I had finished the figure of the Ascendant, (۱۰) a fly came and settled on the number of the degree of the Ascendant, wherefore it so seemed in my mind that this young man had returned. When I had thus spoken, and the mother had gone to find out, it became as certain to me that he had come as though I actually saw him unloading his ass."

Then I perceived that it was the Part of the Unseen which had effected all this on the degree of the Ascendant, and that this [success of hers] arose from nothing else but this.

ANECDOTE XXVI.

Maḥmúd Dá'údí, the son of Abu'l-Qásim Dá'údí, was a great fool, nay, almost a madman, and had no great amount of knowledge of the stars; though of astrological operations he could cast a nativity, and in his note-book were figures, declaring "it is" or "it is not." He was in the service of Amír-Dád Abú Bakr ibn Mas'úd at Panj-dih; and his prognostications mostly came nearly right.

Now his madness was such that when my master the King of the Mountains¹ sent Amír-Dád a pair of Ghúrí dogs, very large and formidable, he fought with them of his own free will, and escaped from them in safety. Years afterwards we were sitting with a number of persons of learning in the Druggists' Bázár at Herát, in the shop of Muqrí the surgeon-barber, and discussing all manner of subjects. One of these learned men happening to remark, "What a great man was Avicenna (Ibn Síná)!" I saw Dá'údí fly into such a passion that the veins of his neck became hard and prominent, and all the symptoms of anger appeared in him, and he cried, "O So-and-so, who was Abú 'Alí ibn Síná? I am worth a thousand Abú 'Alís, for he never even fought with a cat, whilst I fought before Amír-Dád with two Ghúrí dogs." So on that day I knew him to be mad; yet for all his madness, I witnessed the following occurrence.

¹ *I.e.* Quṭbu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Izzu'd-Dín Ḥusayn, the first king of the Ghúrí dynasty, poisoned by Bahrám Sháh. See Note I at the end.

In the year A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-1115), when Sultán Sanjar encamped in the Plain of Khúzán¹, on his way to Transoxiana to fight with Muḥammad Khán², Amír-Dád made a mighty great entertainment for the King at Panj-dih. On the third day he came to the river-brink, and entered a boat to amuse himself (۱) with fishing. In the boat he summoned Dá'údí before him to talk in that mad way of his, while he laughed, for Dá'údí would openly abuse Amír-Dád.

Presently the King said to Dá'údí, "Prognosticate how many maunds the fish which I shall catch this time will weigh." Dá'údí said, "Draw up your hook." So the King drew it up; and he took the altitude, paused for a while, and then said, "Now cast it." The King cast, and he said, "I prognosticate that this fish which you will draw out will weigh five maunds." "O knave," said Amír-Dád, "whence should fish of five maunds' weight come into this stream?" "Be silent," said Dá'údí; "what do you know about it?" So Amír-Dád was silent, fearing that, should he insist further, he would only get abuse.

After a while there was a pull on the line, indicating that a fish had been taken captive. The King drew in the line with a very large fish on it, which, when weighed, scaled six³ maunds. All were amazed, and the King of the World expressed his astonishment, for which, indeed, there was good occasion. "Dá'údí," said the King, "what dost thou wish for?" "O King of the face of the Earth," said he with an obeisance, "I desire but a coat of mail, a shield and a spear, that I may do battle with Báwardí." And this Báwardí was an officer attached to Amír-Dád's Court, and Dá'údí entertained towards him a fanatical hatred, because the title of *Shujá'u'l-Mulk* ("the Champion of the Kingdom") had been conferred on him, while Dá'údí himself bore the title of *Shujá'u'l-Hukamá* ("the Champion of the Philosophers"), and grudged that the other should also be entitled *Shujá'*. And Amír-Dád, well knowing this, used continually to embroil Dá'údí with him, and this good Musulmán was at his wit's end by reason of him.

In short, as to Maḥmúd Dá'údí's madness there was no doubt, and I have mentioned this matter in order that the King may know that as regards astrological predictions folly and insanity are amongst the conditions of this craft.

¹ See Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, pp. 215-216.

² The person meant is Muḥammad Khán (known as Arslán Khán) ibn Sulaymán ibn Dá'úd ibn Bughrá Khán of the Khániyya dynasty. The event alluded to in the text took place in A.H. 507 (A.D. 1113-1114).

³ L. has "five," which corresponds better with the prognostication, but the MS. authority is in favour of the reading here adopted.

ANECDOTE XXVII.

Hakím-i-Mawṣilí was one of the order of Astrologers in Níshápúr, and was in the service of that Great Minister Nizámu'l-Mulk of Tús, who used to consult with him on matters of importance, and seek his advice (۱۶) and opinion. Now when Mawṣilí's years were drawing to a close, and failure of his faculties began to manifest itself, and feebleness of body began to appear, so that he was no longer able to perform these long journeys, he asked the Minister's permission to go and reside at Níshápúr, and to send thence, annually, an almanac and forecast for the year.

Now the Minister Nizámu'l-Mulk was also in the decline of life and near the term of existence; and he said, "Calculate the march of events and see when the dissolution of my elemental nature will occur, and at what date that inevitable doom and unavoidable sentence will befall."

Hakím-i-Mawṣilí answered, "Six months after my death." So the Minister bestowed on him in increased measure all things needful for his comfort, and Mawṣilí went to Níshápúr, and there abode in ease, sending each year the forecast and calendar. And whenever anyone came to the Minister from Níshápúr, he used first to enquire, "How is Mawṣilí?" and so soon as he had ascertained that he was alive and well, he would become joyous and cheerful.

At length in the year A.H. 485 (A.D. 1092-3) one arrived from Níshápúr, and the Minister enquired of him concerning Mawṣilí. The man replied, with an obeisance, "May he who holdeth the chief seat in Islám be the heir of many life-times! Mawṣilí hath quitted this mortal body." "When?" enquired the Minister. "In the middle of Rabí' the First" (April 11—May 11, A.D. 1092), answered the man, "he yielded up his life for him who sitteth in the chief seat of Islám."

The Minister thereat was mightily put about; yet, being thus warned, he looked into all his affairs, confirmed all his pious endowments, gave effect to his bequests, wrote his last testament, set free such of his slaves as had earned his approval, discharged the debts which he owed, and, so far as lay in his power, made all men content with him, and sought forgiveness from his adversaries, and so sat awaiting his fate until the month of Ramaḍán (A.H. 485 = Oct. 5—Nov. 4, A.D. 1092), when he fell a martyr at Baghdád¹ at the hands of that Sect (*i.e.* the Assassins); may God make illustrious his Proof, and accord him an ample approval!

¹ This is an error of the author's, for the evidence that Nizámu'l-Mulk was assassinated at Niháwand is overwhelming.

Since the observed Ascendant of the nativity, the Lord of the House, and the dominant influence (*hayláj*) were rightly determined, and the Astrologer was expert and accomplished, naturally the prognostication came true¹. *And He [God] knoweth best.*

ANECDOTE XXVIII.

In the year A.H. 506 (A.D. 1112-1113) Khwája Imám 'Umar-i-Khayyám² and Khwája Imám Muẓaffar-i-Isfizarí³ had alighted in the city of Balkh, in the Street of the Slave-sellers, in the house of Amír (۱۳) Abú Sa'd Jarrah, and I had joined that assembly. In the midst of our convivial gathering I heard that Argument of Truth (*Hujjatul-Haqq*) 'Umar say, "My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice a year⁴." This thing seemed to me impossible, though I knew that one such as he would not speak idle words.

When I arrived at Nishápúr in the year A.H. 530 (A.D. 1135-6), it being then four⁵ years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust, and this nether world had been bereaved of him, I went to visit his grave on the eve of a Friday (seeing that he had the claim of a master on me), taking with me one to point out to me his tomb. So he brought me out to the Híra⁶ Cemetery; I turned to the left, and found his tomb situated at the foot of a garden-wall, over which pear-trees and peach-trees thrust their heads, and on his grave had fallen so many flower-leaves that his dust was hidden beneath the flowers. Then I remembered that saying which I had heard from him in the city of Balkh, and I fell to weeping, because on the face of the earth, and in all the regions of the habitable globe, I nowhere saw one like unto him. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) have mercy

¹ I confess that these astrological terms are beyond me. Several of them (*e.g.* *hayláj* and *kātkhudd*) are explained in the section of the *Mafātthul-'ulūm* which treats of Astrology (ed. van Vloten, pp. 225-232). See, however, Note XXIV at the end.

² The MSS. have *Khayyámí*, the form usually found in Arabic books. See Note XXV at the end.

³ A notable astronomer who collaborated with 'Umar-i-Khayyám and others in A.H. 467 (A.D. 1074-1075) in the computation of the Jalálí era by command of Maliksháh. Ibnu'l-Athir mentions him under the above year by the name of Abu'l-Muẓaffar al-Isfizarí.

⁴ The editor of the text has adopted the reading of the Constantinople MS., "every spring-tide the north wind will scatter blossoms on me," but the reading here adopted seems to me preferable, for there would be nothing remarkable in the grave being covered with fallen blossoms *once* a year; what was remarkable was that it should happen *twice*.

⁵ The Constantinople MS., which is the oldest and most reliable, alone has this reading, the others having "some years." If "four" be correct, it follows that 'Umar-i-Khayyám died in A.H. 526 (A.D. 1132) and not, as stated by most authorities, in A.H. 515 (A.D. 1121-1122) or 517 (A.D. 1123-1124).

⁶ Híra, according to as-Sam'ání and Yáqút, was a large and well-known quarter lying outside Nishápúr on the road to Merv.

upon him¹, by His Grace and His Favour!² Yet although I witnessed this prognostication on the part of that Proof of the Truth 'Umar, I did not observe that he had any great belief in astrological predictions; nor have I seen or heard of any of the great [scientists] who had such belief.

ANECDOTE XXIX.

In the winter of the year A.H. 508 (A.D. 1114-1115) the King sent a messenger to Merv to the Prime Minister Šadrū'd-Dīn [Abū Ja'far] Muhammad ibn al-Muẓaffar³ (on whom be God's Mercy) bidding him tell Khwāja Imām 'Umar to select a favourable time for him to go hunting, such that therein should be no snowy or rainy days. For Khwāja Imām 'Umar was in the Minister's company, and used to lodge at his house.

The Minister, therefore, sent a messenger to summon him, and told him what had happened. So he went and looked into the matter for two days, and made a careful choice; and he himself went and superintended the mounting of the King at the auspicious moment. When the King was mounted and had gone but a short distance⁴, the sky became over-cast with clouds, a wind arose, (۱۴) and snow and mist supervened. All present fell to laughing, and the King desired to turn back; but Khwāja Imām ['Umar] said, "Let the King be of good cheer, for this very hour the clouds will clear away, and during these five days there will not be a drop of moisture." So the King rode on, and the clouds opened, and during those five days there was no moisture, and no one saw a cloud.

But prognostication by the stars, though a recognized art, is not to be relied on, nor should the astronomer have any far-reaching faith therein; and whatever the astrologer predicts he must leave to Fate.

ANECDOTE XXX.

It is incumbent on the King, wherever he goes, to prove such companions and servants as he has with him; and if one is a believer in the Holy Law, and scrupulously observes the rites and duties thereof, he should make him an intimate, and treat

¹ A. and C. have—"cause him to dwell in Paradise."

² In the printed text "Anecdote XXIX" begins here with the following sentence, which is omitted in the Tih-rān lithographed edition.

³ He was the grandson of the great Nizāmu'l-Mulk. His father, Fakhru'l-Mulk Abū'l-Faṭḥ al-Muẓaffar, was put to death by Sulṭān Sanjar, whose Minister he was, in A.H. 500 (A.D. 1106-1107). Šadrū'd-Dīn himself was murdered by one of Sanjar's servants in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1117-1118).

⁴ I suppose this to be the meaning of the words:—**و يك بانگ زمين برفت**, which is the reading of all the texts. It perhaps means the distance which the human voice will carry when raised to its highest pitch.

him with honour and confide in him ; but if otherwise, he should drive him away, and guard even the outskirts of his environment from his very shadow. Whoever does not believe in the religion of God (great and glorious is He!) and the law of Muḥammad the Chosen One, in him can no man trust, and he is unlucky, both to himself and to his master.

In the beginning of the reign of the King Sultán *Ghiyáthu'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín* Muḥammad ibn Maliksháh, styled *Qasímu Amírí'l-Muminín* (may God illuminate his tomb!)¹, the King of the Arabs Ṣadaqa² revolted and withdrew his neck from the yoke of allegiance, and with fifty thousand Arabs marched on Baghdád from Hilla³. The Prince of Believers al-Mustazhír bi'lláh had sent off letter after letter and courier after courier to Iṣfahán, summoning the Sultán, who sought from the astrologers the determination of the auspicious moment. But no such determination could be made which would suit the Lord of the King's Ascendant, which was retrograde. So they said, "O Sire, we find no auspicious moment." "Seek it, then," said he; and he was very urgent in the matter, and much vexed in mind. And so the astrologers fled.

Now there was a man of Ghazna who had a shop in the Street of the Dome and who used to practise sooth-saying, and women used to visit him, and he used to write them love-charms, but he had no profound knowledge. By means of an acquaintance with one of the King's servants he brought himself to the King's notice, and said, "I will find an auspicious moment; depart in that, and if (١٠) thou dost not return victorious, then cut off my head."

So the King was pleased, and mounted his horse at the moment declared auspicious by him, and gave him two hundred *dínars* of Nishápúr, and went forth, fought with Ṣadaqa, defeated his army, took him captive, and put him to death. And when he returned triumphant and victorious to Iṣfahán, he heaped favours on the sooth-sayer, conferred on him great honours, and made him one of his intimates. Then he summoned the astrologers and said, "You did not find an auspicious moment, it was this Ghaznawí who found it; and I went, and God justified his forecast. Wherefore did ye act thus? Probably Ṣadaqa had sent you a bribe so that you should not name the auspicious time." Then they all fell to the earth, lamenting and exclaiming, "No astrologer was satisfied with that choice. If you wish, write a message

¹ Reigned A.H. 498-511 (A.D. 1104-1117).

² For an account of this event and the doings of Ṣadaqa ibn Mazyad, the "King of the Arabs" here mentioned, see Ibnu'l-Athír's Chronicle *sub anno* A.H. 501 (A.D. 1107-1108).

³ This is an error, for Ṣadaqa never attacked Baghdád nor quarrelled with the Caliph al-Mustazhír bi'lláh, his quarrel being with Muḥammad ibn Maliksháh.

and send it to Khurásán, and see what Khwāja Imám ‘Umar-i-Khayyámí says.”

The King saw that the poor wretches did not speak amiss. He therefore summoned one of his accomplished courtiers and said, “Hold a wine-party at your house to-morrow. Invite this astrologer of Ghazna, give him wine, and, when he is overcome with wine, enquire of him, saying, ‘That moment determined by thee was not good, and the astrologers find fault with it. Tell me the secret of this.’”

Then the courtier did so, and, when his guest was drunk, made this enquiry of him. The Ghaznawí answered, “I knew that one of two things must happen; either that army would be defeated, or this one. If the former, then I should be loaded with honours; and if the latter, who would concern himself about me?”

Next day the courtier reported this conversation to the King, who ordered the Ghaznawí sooth-sayer to be expelled, saying, “Such a man holding such views about good Musulmán is unlucky.” Then¹ he summoned his own astrologers and restored his confidence to them, saying, “I myself held this sooth-sayer to be an enemy, because he never said his prayers, and one who agrees not with our Holy Law, agrees not with us.”

ANECDOTE XXXI.

In the year A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152-3)² a battle was fought between the King of the World Sanjar ibn (۱۱) Maliksháh and my lord the King ‘Alá’u’d-Dunyá wa’d-Dín at the Gates of Awba³; and the army of Ghúr was defeated, and my lord the King of the East (may God perpetuate his reign!) was taken prisoner, and my lord’s son the Just King *Shamsu’d-Dawla wa’d-Dín* Muhammad ibn Mas’úd⁴ was taken captive at the hands of the Commander-in-Chief (*Amír-i-sipahsálár*) Yaranqush Haríwa. The ransom was fixed at fifty thousand *dtnárs*, and a messenger from him was to go to the court at Bámiyán to press for this sum; and when it reached Herát the Prince was to be released, being already accorded his liberty by the Lord of the World (Sanjar)⁵, who, moreover, at the time of his departure from Herát, granted him a robe of honour. It was under these circumstances that I arrived to wait upon him.

¹ A. adds:—“they killed him, and....”

² This is the correct date, but the *Ta’ríkh-i-Guzída* gives A.H. 544 (A.D. 1149-1150).

³ A village near Herát.

⁴ The second of the Kings of Shansab or Ghúr who ruled over Bámiyán, and the son of Fakhru’d-Dín Mas’úd. See p. ۹۵ of the Persian notes and Note I at the end.

⁵ The meaning appears to be that a ransom was demanded by the Amír Yaranqush, the Prince’s actual captor, but not by his over-lord Sanjar.

One day, being extremely sad at heart, he signed to me, and enquired when this deliverance would finally be accomplished, and when this consignment would arrive. So I took an observation that day with a view to making this prognostication, and worked out the Ascendant, exerting myself to the utmost, and [ascertained that] there was an indication of a satisfactory solution to the question on the third day. So next day I came and said, "To-morrow at the time of the afternoon prayer the messenger will arrive." All that day the Prince was thinking about this matter. Next day I hastened to wait on him. "To-day," said he, "is the time fixed." "Yes," I replied; and continued in attendance on him till the afternoon prayer. When the call to prayer was sounded, he remarked reproachfully, "The afternoon prayer has arrived, but still no news!" Even while he was thus speaking, a courier arrived bringing the good tidings that the consignment had come, consisting of fifty thousand *dinārs*, sheep, and other things, and that 'Izzu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Hájji, the steward of Prince Ḥusāmu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dīn, was in charge of the convoy. Next day my lord Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dīn was invested with the King's dress of honour, and released. Shortly afterwards he regained his beloved home, and from that time onwards his affairs have prospered more and more every day (may they continue so to do!). And it was during these nights that he used to treat me with the utmost kindness and say, "Nizāmī, do you remember making such a prognostication in Herāt, and how it came true? I wanted to fill thy mouth with gold, but there I had no gold, though here I have." Then he called for gold, and twice filled my mouth therewith. Then he said, "It will not hold enough; hold out thy sleeve." (۱۷) So I held it out, and he filled it also with gold. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) maintain this dynasty in daily-increasing prosperity, and long spare these two Princes to my august and royal Master, by His Favour, Bounty and Grace!

(۱۸) FOURTH DISCOURSE.

On the Science of Medicine, and the right direction of the Physician.

Medicine is that art whereby health is maintained in the human body; whereby, when it wanes, it is restored; and whereby the body is embellished by long hair, a clear complexion, fragrance and vigour¹.

¹ The ordinary definition of Medicine ends at the word "restored," but the whole of Book VIII of the *Dhakḥīra-i-Khwārazmshāhi* deals with the care of the hair, nails, complexion, etc.

[*Excursus.*]

The physician should be of tender disposition and wise nature, excelling in acumen, this being a nimbleness of mind in forming correct views, that is to say a rapid transition to the unknown from the known. And no physician can be of tender disposition if he fails to recognize the nobility of the human soul; nor of wise nature unless he is acquainted with Logic, nor can he excel in acumen unless he be strengthened by God's aid; and he who is not acute in conjecture will not arrive at a correct understanding of any ailment, for he must derive his indications from the pulse, which has a systole, a diastole, and a pause intervening between these two movements¹.

Now here there is a difference of opinion amongst physicians, one school maintaining that it is impossible by palpation to gauge the movement of contraction; but that most accomplished of the moderns, that Proof of the Truth Abú 'Alí al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Abdu'lláh ibn Síná (Avicenna)², says in his book the *Qánún*³ that the movement of contraction also can be gauged, though with difficulty, in thin subjects. Moreover the pulse is of ten sorts, each of which is divided into three subordinate varieties, namely its two extremes and its mean; but, unless the Divine guidance assist the physician in his search for the truth, his thought will not hit the mark. So also in the inspection of the urine, the observing of its colours and sediments, and the deducing of some special condition from each colour (١١) are no easy matters; for all these indications depend on Divine help and Royal patronage. This quality [of discernment] is that which we have indicated under the name of acumen. And unless the physician knows Logic, and understands the meaning of genus and species, he cannot discriminate between that which appertains to the category, that which is peculiar to the individual, and that which is accidental, and so will not recognize the cause [of the disease]. And, failing to recognize the cause, he cannot succeed in his treatment. But let us now give an illustration, so that it may be known that it is as we say. Disease is the genus; fever, headache, cold, delirium, measles and jaundice are the species, each of which is distinguished from the others by a diagnostic sign, and in turn itself constitutes a genus. For example, "Fever" is the genus, wherein quotidian, tertian, double tertian and quartan are the

¹ Some notes on the varieties of pulse recognized by the Arabian physicians will be found in Note XXVI at the end.

² See de Slane's translation of *Ibn Khallikán*, vol. i, pp. 440-446; von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte d. Orients*, vol. ii, pp. 455-456; Wüstenfeld's *Gesch. d. Arab. Aerzte*, pp. 64-75; and Note XXVII, No. 10, at the end.

³ The *Qánún* was printed at Rome, A.D. 1593, and the Latin translation at Venice in A.D. 1544. According to Steinschneider, Gerard of Cremona's Latin translation was printed more than thirty times, and fifteen times before A.D. 1500.

species, each of which is distinguished from the other by a special diagnostic sign. Thus, for instance, quotidian is distinguished from other fevers by the fact that the longest period thereof is a day and a night, and that in it there is no languor¹, heaviness, lassitude, nor pain. Again inflammatory fever² is distinguished from other fevers by the fact that when it attacks it does not abate for several days; while tertian is distinguished by the fact that it comes one day and not the next; and double tertian by this, that one day it comes with a higher temperature and a shorter interval, and another day in a milder form with a longer interval; while lastly quartan is distinguished by the fact that it attacks one day, does not recur on the second and third days, but comes again on the fourth. Each of these in turn becomes a genus comprising several species; and if the physician be versed in Logic and possessed of acumen and knows which fever it is, what the *materies morbi*³ is, and whether it is simple or compound, he can then at once proceed to treat it. But if he fail to recognize the disease, then let him turn to God and seek help from Him; and so likewise, if he fail in his treatment, let him have recourse to God and seek help from Him, seeing that all issues are in His hands.

ANECDOTE XXXII.

In the year A.H. 512 (A.D. 1118-19), in the Druggist's Bazaar of Nishápúr, at the shop of Muhammad (v.) ibn Muhammad the Astrologer-Physician⁴, I heard Khwája Imám Abú Bakr Daqqáq saying, "In the year A.H. 502 (A.D. 1108-9) a certain notable man of Nishápúr was seized with the colic and called me in. I examined him, and proceeded to treat him, trying every remedy suggested in this malady; but no improvement in his health took place. Three days elapsed. At the time of evening prayer I returned in despair, convinced that the patient would pass away at midnight. In this distress I fell asleep. In the morning I awoke, not doubting that he had passed away. I went up on to the roof, and turned my face in that direction to listen, but heard no sound [of lamentation] which might indicate his decease. I repeated the *Fātiḥa*, breathing it in that direction and adding, 'O my God, my Master and my Lord, Thou Thyself hast said in the Sure Book and Indubitable Scripture, "*And we will send*

¹ Perhaps "languor" is hardly strong enough. The original is *takassur*, literally "contrition," "being broken to pieces."

² **تب مطبقه**. See Schlimmer's *Terminologie Médico-Pharmaceutique* (lithographed at Tihrán, A.D. 1874), pp. 192-197 and 285. Perhaps, however, it should here be translated "remittent" or even "continuous." See Note XXXVI at the end.

³ *I.e.* whether it be primary or secondary, from which of the four humours it arises, etc.

⁴ The readings vary, A. has—**محمد ضمير**; B. **محمد صميم**; L. **ضمير** only. The reading adopted in the text is no doubt correct.

down in the *Qur'án* what shall be a Healing and a Mercy to true believers¹." For I was filled with regret, seeing that he was a young man, and wealthy, and in easy circumstances, and had all things needful for a pleasant life. Then I performed the minor ablution, went to the oratory and acquitted myself of the customary prayer². One knocked at the door of the house. I looked and saw that it was one of his people, who gave good tidings, saying, 'Open!' I enquired what had happened, and he replied, 'This very hour he obtained relief.' Then I knew that this was through the blessing of the *Fátiha* of the Scripture, and that this draught had been issued from the Divine Dispensary. For I have put this to the proof, administering this draught in many cases, in all of which it proved beneficial, and resulted in restoration to health." Therefore the physician should be of good faith, and should venerate the commands and prohibitions of the Holy Law.

On the Science of Medicine the student should procure and read the "Aphorisms" (*Fuṣūl*) of Hippocrates, the "Questions" (*Masá'il*) of Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq³, the "Guide" (*Murshid*) of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā of Ray (ar-Rāzī)⁴, and the Commentary of Nīlī⁵, who has made abstracts of these. After he has carefully read [these works] with a kind and congenial master, he should diligently study with a sympathetic teacher the following intermediate works, to wit, the "Thesaurus" (*Dhakhīra*) of Thābit ibn Qurra⁶, the [*Kitābu't-Tibbī'l-*] *Manṣūrī* of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyā of Ray⁷; the "Direction" (*Hidāya*) of Abú Bakr Ajwīnī, or the "Sufficiency" (*Kifāya*) of Aḥmad [ibn] Faraj and the "Aims" (*Aghrād*) of Sayyid Isma'īl Jurjānī⁸. Then he

¹ *Qur'án*, xvii, 84.

² Each prayer consists of three parts, what is obligatory (*farḍ*), what is customary after the Prophet's example (*sunnat*), and what is supererogatory (*náfila*). The *sunnat* portion comes first, so that in the story the narrator was interrupted before he had performed the obligatory prostrations.

³ See Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 69, pp. 26-29. He was born A.H. 194 (A.D. 809) and died A.H. 260 (A.D. 873). A fuller account of all these writers and their works will be found in Note XXVII at the end.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 98, pp. 40-49. He is known in Europe as Rasis or Rhazes. The *Murshid* here mentioned is identified by the Editor with the work properly entitled *al-Fuṣūl fī'l-Tibb*, or "Aphorisms in Medicine." See p. ٢٣٠ of the Persian notes, and Note XXVII at the end.

⁵ See p. ٢٣١ of the Persian notes. His full name was Abú Sahl Sa'īd ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, and he was a native of Nishápúr. The *nisba* "Nīlī" is explained in Sam'ānī's *Ansāb* (Vol. xx of the Gibb Series, f. 574^b) as referring to a place called Nīl between Baghdād and Kúfa, or to connection with the trade in indigo (*nīl*). Here the latter sense is evidently required. Mention is made of the brother of our physician, a poet and man of letters named Abú 'Abdi'r-Raḥmān ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz, who died about 440/1048-9.

⁶ Al-Qiftī in his *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukamā* (ed. Lippert, p. 120) mentions this work, but expresses a doubt as to its authorship.

⁷ See Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 43, No. 2. This celebrated work was composed for Manṣūr ibn Ishāq, Governor of Ray, A.D. 903-9.

⁸ See Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, No. 165, p. 95.

should take up one of the more detailed treatises, such as the "Sixteen (Treatises," *Sitta 'ashar*) of Galen, or the "Continens" (*Hawt*)¹ of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá, or the "Complete Practitioner" (*Kāmilu's-Sinā'at*)², or the "Hundred Chapters" (*Ṣad Bāb*) of Abú Sahl Masḥí³, or the *Qánún* of Abú 'Alí ibn Síná (Avicenna)⁴, or the *Dhakhira-i-Khwārazm-shāht*⁵, and read it in his leisure moments; or, if he desires to be independent of other works, he may content himself with the *Qánún*.

The Lord (v) of the two worlds and the Guide of the two Grosser Races says: "Every kind of game is in the belly of the wild ass"⁶: all this of which I have spoken is to be found in the *Qánún*, with much in addition thereto; and whoever has mastered the first volume of the *Qánún*, to him nothing will be hidden of the general and fundamental principles of Medicine, for could Hippocrates and Galen return to life, it were meet that they should do reverence to this book. Yet have I heard a wonderful thing, to wit that one hath taken exception to Abú 'Alí [ibn Síná] in respect of this work, and hath embodied his objections in a book, which he hath named "the Rectification of the *Qánún*""; and it is as though I looked at both, and perceived what a fool the author was, and how detestable is the book which he has composed! For what right has anyone to find fault with so great a man when the very first question which he meets with in a book of his which he comes across is difficult to his comprehension? For four thousand years the wise men of antiquity travelled in spirit and melted their very souls in order to reduce the Science of Philosophy to some fixed order, yet could not effect this, until, after the lapse of this period, that incomparable philosopher and most powerful thinker Aristotle weighed this coin in the balance of Logic, assayed it with the touchstone of definitions, and measured it by the scale of analogy, so that all doubt and ambiguity departed from it, and it became established

¹ This, known to mediaeval Europe as the "Continens," is the most detailed and most important of ar-Rázi's works. The original Arabic exists only in manuscript, and that partially. The Latin translation was printed at Brescia in A.D. 1486, and in 1500, 1506, 1509 and 1542 at Venice. See Note XXVII at the end, No. 4.

² This notable work, also known as *al-Kitābu'l-Malikī* ("Liber Regius") was composed by 'Alí ibnu'l-'Abbās al-Majūsī ("Haly Abbas" of the mediaeval physicians of Europe), who died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994). The Arabic text has been lithographed at Lahore in A.H. 1283 (A.D. 1866) and printed at Bulāq in A.H. 1294 (A.D. 1877). There are two editions of the Latin translation (Venice, A.D. 1492, and Lyons, A.D. 1523).

³ Avicenna's master, d. A.H. 390 (A.D. 1000). See Wüstenfeld, *loc. cit.*, pp. 59-60, No. 118; p. 230 of the Persian notes; and Note XXVII, No. 9, at the end.

⁴ See Note XXVII, No. 10, at the end.

⁵ See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 466-467.

⁶ Meaning that every kind of game is inferior to the wild ass. It is said proverbially of any one who excels his fellows. See Lane's *Arabic Lexicon*, p. 2357, s.v. **فَرَّا**.

⁷ **اصلاح قانون**.

on a sure and critical basis. And during these fifteen centuries which have elapsed since his time, no philosopher hath won to the inmost essence of his doctrine, nor travelled the high road of his method, save that most excellent of the moderns, the Philosopher of the East, the Proof of God unto His creatures, Abú 'Alí al-Husayn ibn 'Abdu'lláh ibn Síná (Avicenna). He who finds fault with these two great men will have cut himself off from the company of the wise, placed himself in the category of madmen, and exhibited himself in the ranks of the feeble-minded. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) keep us from such stumblings and vain desires, by His Favour and His Grace!

So, if the physician hath mastered the first volume of the *Qánún*, and hath attained to forty years of age, he will be worthy of confidence; yet even if he hath attained to this degree, he should keep ever with him some of the smaller treatises composed by proved masters, such as the "Gift of Kings" (*Tuhfatu'l-Mulúk*)¹ of Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá [ar-Rází], or the *Kifáya* of Ibn Mandúya of Iṣfahán², or the "Provision against all sorts of errors in Medical Treatment" (*Tadáruku anwá'il-khaṭá fi 't-tadbiri't-tibbí*)³ of which Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) is the author; or the *Khuffiyy-i-'Alá't*⁴, or the "Memoranda" (*Yádigár*)⁵ of Sayyid Isma'íl Jurjání. For no reliance can be placed on the Memory, which is located in the most posterior (وَر) part of the brain⁶, and when it is slow in its operation these books may prove helpful.

Therefore every King who would choose a physician must see that these conditions which have been enumerated are found in him; for it is no light matter to commit one's life and soul into the hands of any ignorant quack, or to entrust the care of one's health to any reckless charlatan.

¹ No mention of such a work is made in any of the biographies of ar-Rází.

² Abú 'Alí Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán ibn Mandúya of Iṣfahán was a notable physician of the fourth century of the *hijra* (tenth of the Christian era). He was one of the four and twenty physicians appointed by 'Aḍudu'd-Dawla to the hospital which he founded at Baghdád. The proper title of the work to which our author here refers appears to be *al-Káfi*, not *al-Kifáya*.

³ This book was printed in 1305/1887-8 at Buláq in the margins of the *Manáfi'u'l-Agháhiya wa Maḍárru-há* ("Beneficial and injurious properties of Foods") of ar-Rází.

⁴ A small manual of Medicine in Persian by the author of the *Dhakhtra-i-Khwárazm-sháhi*, written by command of Átsiz Khwárazm-sháh (succeeded to the throne in 521/1127) and called after him, his title being 'Alá'u'd-Dawla.

⁵ Another small manual by the same author as the last. See Adolf Fonahn's *Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin* (Leipzig, 1910), p. 105, No. 280, and p. 129.

⁶ Concerning the Five Internal Senses and their supposed location in the brain, see p. 8 *supra*, and also my *Year amongst the Persians*, pp. 144-145.

· ANECDOTE XXXIII.

Bukht-Yishú'¹, a Christian of Baghdád, was a skilful physician and a true and tender man; and he was attached to the service of al-Ma'mún [the Caliph]. Now one of the House of Háshim, a kinsman of al-Ma'mún, was attacked with dysentery, and al-Ma'mún, being greatly attached to him, sent Bukht-Yishú' to treat him. So he, for al-Ma'mún's sake, rose up, girt himself with his soul², and treated him in various ways, but to no purpose, and tried such recondite remedies as he knew, but to no advantage, for the case had passed beyond his powers. So Bukht-Yishú' was ashamed before al-Ma'mún, who, divining this, said to him, "O Bukht-Yishú', be not abashed, for thou didst fulfil thine utmost endeavour, and rendered good service, but God Almighty doth not desire [that thou shouldst succeed]. Acquiesce in Fate, even as we have acquiesced." Bukht-Yishú', seeing al-Ma'mún thus hopeless, replied, "One other remedy remains, and it is a perilous one; but, trusting to the fortune of the Prince of Believers, I will attempt it, and perchance God Most High may cause it to succeed."

Now the patient was going to stool fifty or sixty times a day. So Bukht-Yishú' prepared a purgative and administered it to him; and on the day whereon he took the purgative, his diarrhœa was still further increased; but next day it stopped. So the physicians asked him, "What hazardous treatment was this which thou didst adopt?" He answered, "The *materies morbi* of this diarrhœa was from the brain, and until it was dislodged from the brain the flux would not cease. I feared that, if I administered a purgative, the patient's strength might not be equal to the increased diarrhœa; but, when all despaired, I said to myself, 'After all, there is hope in giving the purgative, but none in withholding it.' So I gave it, relying on God, for He is All Powerful; and God Most High vouchsafed a cure and the patient recovered; and my opinion was justified, namely that if the purgative were withheld, only the death of the patient was to be expected, (✓) but that if it were administered, there was a possibility of either life or death. So I deemed it best to administer it."

¹ See Wüstenfeld, *op. cit.*, p. 17, No. 30, and Note XXVII, No. 1, at the end. Concerning this and similar names, see Nöldeke's *Geschichte d. Artakshatr-i-Pápakán*, p. 49, n. 4.

² *I.e.* "Put his whole heart into his task."

ANECDOTE XXXIV.

The great Shaykh and Proof of the Truth Abú 'Alí ibn Síná (Avicenna) relates as follows in the "Book of the Origin and the Return" (*Kitābu'l-Mabda' wa'l-Ma'ād*)¹, at the end of the section on "the possibility of the production of exceptional psychical phenomena":—He says "A curious anecdote hath reached me which I have heard related. A certain physician was attached to the court of one of the House of Sámán, and there attained so high a position of trust that he used to enter the women's apartments and feel the pulses of its carefully-guarded and closely-veiled inmates. One day he was sitting with the King in the women's apartments in a place where it was impossible for any [other] male creature to penetrate. The King demanded food, and it was brought by the hand-maidens. One of these who was laying the table took the tray off her head, bent down, and placed it on the ground. When she desired to stand upright again, she was unable to do so, but remained as she was, by reason of a rheumatic swelling of the joints². The King turned to the physician and said, "You must cure her at once in whatever way you can." Here was no opportunity for any physical method of treatment, for which no appliances were available, no drugs being at hand. So the physician bethought himself of a psychical treatment, and bade them remove the veil from her head and expose her hair, so that she might be ashamed and make some movement, this condition being displeasing to her, to wit that all her head and face should be thus exposed. As, however, she underwent no change, he proceeded to something still more shameful, and ordered her trousers to be removed. She was overcome with shame, and a warmth was produced within her such that it dissolved that thick rheum and she stood up straight and sound, and regained her normal condition³.

Had this physician not been wise and capable, he would never have thought of this treatment and would have been unable to effect this cure; while had he failed he would have forfeited the King's regard. Hence a knowledge of natural phenomena and an apprehension of the facts of Nature form part of this subject. And God knoweth best!

¹ The original passage is cited by Mírzá Muḥammad (on p. ۴۴ of the Persian notes) from Add. 16,659 of the British Museum, f. 488.

² Literally, "by reason of a thick rheum which was produced in her joints."

³ This anecdote is told by al-Qiftí (p. ۱۳۴) and Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a (Vol. i, p. ۱۴۷) of the physician Bukht-Yishú' and the Caliph Hárúnu'r-Rashíd. A versified rendering of it is given in Jámi's "Chain of Gold" (*Silsilatü'dh-Dhahab*), composed in A.D. 1485. The text of this version is given in Note XXVIII at the end.

(vz) ANECDOTE XXXV.

Another of the House of Sámán, Amír Mansúr ibn Núh ibn Naṣr¹, became afflicted with an ailment which grew chronic, and remained established, and the physicians were unable to cure it. So the Amír Mansúr sent messengers to summon Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rázi to treat him. Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá came as far as the Oxus, but, when he reached its shores and saw it, he said, "I will not embark in the boat, for God Most High saith—'*Do not cast yourselves into peril with your own hands*'"; and again it is surely a thing remote from wisdom voluntarily to place one's self in so hazardous a position." Ere the Amír's messenger had gone to Bukhárá and returned, he had composed the *Kitáb-i-Mansúri*, which he sent by the hand of that person, saying, "I am this book, and by this book thou canst attain thine object, so that there is no need of me."

When the book reached the Amír he was grievously afflicted, wherefore he sent a thousand *dinárs* and one of his own private horses fully caparisoned, saying, "Show him every kindness, but, if this proves fruitless, bind his hands and feet, place him in the boat, and fetch him across." They did so, but their entreaties moved him not at all. Then they bound his hands and feet, placed him in the boat, and, when they had ferried him across the river, released his limbs. Then they brought the led-horse, fully caparisoned, before him, and he mounted in the best of humours, and set out for Bukhárá. So they enquired of him, saying, "We feared lest, when we should cross the water and set thee free, thou wouldst cherish enmity against us, but thou didst not so, nor do we see thee annoyed or vexed in heart." He replied, "I know that every year twenty thousand persons cross the Oxus without being drowned, and that I too should probably not be drowned; still, it was possible that I might perish, and if this had happened they would have continued till the Resurrection to say, 'A foolish fellow was Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá, in that, of his own free will he embarked in a boat and so was drowned.' So should I be one of those who deserve blame, not of those who are held excused."

¹ That is Mansúr I, who reigned A.H. 350-366 (A.D. 961-976). This anecdote is given in the *Akhláq-i-Yaldil* (ed. Lucknow, A.H. 1283), pp. 168-170. It is, however, a tissue of errors, for this Mansúr came to the throne at least thirty years after the death of the great physician ar-Rázi, who died either in A.H. 311 or 320 (A.D. 923-4 or 932). The Mansúr to whom his *Kitáb-i-Mansúri* was dedicated was an entirely different person. See Note XXVII, No. 4, at the end, *s.v.* *Al-Kitáb-i-Mansúri*. This anecdote, as Mirzá Muḥammad has pointed out to me, appears to be based, so far as the refusal to cross the Oxus is concerned, on an incident in the life of the geographer Abú Zayd al-Balkhí. See al-Maqdisi's *Aḥsanu't-Taqásim fi ma'rifati'l-Aqálim*, p. 4.

² *Qur'án*, ii, 191.

When he reached Bukhárá, the Amír came in and they saw one another and he began to treat him, exerting his powers to the utmost, but without relief to the patient. One day he came in before the Amír and said, "To-morrow (v.) I am going to try another method of treatment, but for the carrying out of it you will have to sacrifice such-and-such a horse and such-and-such a mule," the two being both animals noted for their speed, so that in one night they would go forty parasangs.

So next day he took the Amír to the hot bath of Jú-yi-Múliyán¹, outside the palace, leaving that horse and mule ready equipped and tightly girt in the charge of his own servant at the door of the bath; while of the King's retinue and attendants he suffered not one to enter the bath. Then he brought the King into the middle chamber of the hot bath, and poured over him tepid water, after which he prepared a draught, tasted it, and gave it to him to drink. And he kept him there till such time as the humours in his joints had undergone coction.

Then he himself went out and put on his clothes, and, [taking a knife in his hand]², came in, and stood for a while reviling the King, saying, "O such-and-such, thou didst order thy people to bind and cast me into the boat and to threaten my life. If I do not destroy thee as a punishment for this, I am no true son of [my father] Zakariyyá!"

The Amír was furious and rose from his place to his knees. Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá drew a knife and threatened him yet more, until the Amír, partly from anger, partly from fear, completely rose to his feet. When Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá saw the Amír on his feet, he turned round and went out from the bath, and both he and his servant mounted, the one the horse, the other the mule, and turned their faces towards the Oxus. At the time of the afternoon prayer they crossed the river, and halted nowhere till they reached Merv. When Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá alighted at Merv, he wrote a letter to the Amír, saying, "May the life of the King be prolonged in health of body and effective command! I your servant undertook the treatment and did all that was possible. There was, however, an extreme failure in the natural caloric, and the treatment of the disease by ordinary means would have been a protracted affair. I therefore abandoned it in favour of psychical treatment, carried you to the hot bath, administered a draught, and left you so long as to bring about a coction of the humours. Then I angered the King, so as to aid the natural caloric, and it gained strength until those humours, already softened, were dissolved. But henceforth it is not expedient that a meeting should take place between myself and the King."

¹ See n. 2 on p. 35 *supra*, and Note XVI at the end.

² This sentence, though omitted in the printed text, seems on the whole to be an improvement.

Now after the Amír had risen to his feet and Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá had gone out and ridden off, the Amír at once fainted. When he came to himself he went forth from the bath and (۷۱) called to his servants, saying, "Where has the physician gone?" They answered, "He came out from the bath, and mounted the horse, while his attendant mounted the mule, and went off."

Then the Amír knew what object he had had in view. So he came forth on his own feet from the hot bath; and tidings of this ran through the city. Then he gave audience, and his servants and retainers and people rejoiced greatly, and gave alms, and offered sacrifices, and held high festival. But they could not find the physician, seek him as they might. And on the seventh day Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá's servant arrived, riding the mule and leading the horse, and presented the letter. The Amír read it, and was astonished, and excused him, and sent him an honorarium consisting of a horse fully caparisoned, a cloak, turban and arms, and a slave-boy and a handmaiden; and further commanded that there should be assigned to him in Ray from the estates of al-Ma'mún¹ a yearly allowance of two thousand *dīnārs* in gold and two hundred ass-loads of corn. This honorarium and pension-warrant he forwarded to him at Merv by the hand of a man of note. So the Amír completely regained his health, and Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá attained his object.

ANECDOTE XXXVI.

Abu'l-'Abbás Ma'mún Khwárazmsháh² had a Minister named Abu'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad as-Suhaylí³. He was a man of philosophical disposition, magnanimous nature and scholarly tastes, while Khwárazmsháh likewise was a philosopher and friend of scholars. In consequence of this many philosophers and men of erudition, such as Abú 'Alí ibn Síná, Abú Sahl-i-Masíhí, Abu'l-Khayr ibnu'l-Khammár, Abú Naṣr-i-'Arráq and Abú Rayḥán al-Bíruní⁴, gathered about his court.

Now Abú Naṣr-i-'Arráq was the nephew of Khwárazmsháh,

¹ The precise meaning of these words has not yet been determined.

² See p. viii of the Preface to Sachau's translation of al-Bíruní's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, and the same scholar's article *Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Chwarezm* in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie* for 1863. See also Note XXIX at the end, and pp. ۲۴۱-۴ of the Persian notes. Ma'mún II, to whom this anecdote refers, was the third ruler of this House, and was killed in 407/1016-17.

³ Or "as-Sahli," but Mírzá Muḥammad considers "Suhaylí" to be the correct form. He died at Surra man ra'a in 418/1027-8.

⁴ The first, second, and last of these learned men have been already mentioned. The third is Abu'l-Khayr al-Hasan ibnu'l-Khammár (Wüstenfeld's *Geschichte d. Arab. Aerzte*, No. 115, pp. 58-59) who died A.H. 381 (A.D. 991). See also Note XXVII at the end, Nos. 5, 6, 9 and 10.

and in all branches of Mathematics he was second only to Ptolemy; and Abu'l-Khayr ibnu'l-Khammár was the third after Hippocrates and Galen in the science of Medicine; and Abú Rayhán [al-Bírúní] in Astronomy held the position of Abú Ma'shar and Ahmad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalíl; while Abú 'Alí [ibn Síná] and Abú Sahl Masíhí were the successors of Aristotle in the Science of Philosophy, which includes all sciences. And all these were, in this their service, independent of worldly cares, and maintained with one another familiar intercourse and pleasant correspondence.

But Fortune disapproved of this and Heaven disallowed it; their pleasure was spoiled and their happy life was marred. (vv) A notable arrived from Sulṭán Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla with a letter, whereof the purport was as follows. "I have heard that there are in attendance on Khwárazmsháh several men of learning who are beyond compare, such as so-and-so and so-and-so. Thou must send them to my court, so that they may attain the honour of attendance thereat, while we may profit by their knowledge and skill. So shall we be much beholden to Khwárazmsháh."

Now the bearer of this message was Khwája Ḥusayn ibn 'Alí ibn Míká'il, who was one of the most accomplished and remarkable men of his age, and the wonder of his time amongst his contemporaries, while the affairs of Sulṭán Maḥmúd Yamínu'd-Dawla were at the zenith of prosperity, his Kingdom enjoyed the utmost splendour, and his Empire the greatest elevation, so that the Kings of the time used to treat him with every respect, and at night lay down in fear of him. So Khwárazmsháh assigned to Ḥusayn [ibn 'Alí] ibn Míká'il the best of lodgings, and ordered him the most ample entertainment; but, before according him an audience, he summoned the philosophers and laid before them the King's letter, saying: "Maḥmúd hath a strong hand and a large army: he hath annexed Khurásán and India and covets 'Iráq, and I cannot refuse to obey his order or execute his mandate. What say ye on this matter?"

Abú 'Alí ibn Síná and Abú Sahl answered, "We will not go"; but Abú Naṣr, Abu'l-Khayr and Abú Rayhán were eager to go, having heard accounts of the King's munificent gifts and presents. Then said Khwárazmsháh, "Do you two, who have no wish to go, take your own way before I give audience to this man." Then he equipped Abú 'Alí [ibn Síná] and Abú Sahl, and sent with them a guide, and they set off by the way of the wolves¹ towards Gurgán.

¹ I imagine that a word-play is here intended between Gurgán (the old Hyrcania, of which the present capital is Astarábad) and *az ráh-i-gurgán* ("by the Wolves' Way"), i.e. "across the desert." This is the reading of C.; the other texts have "across the desert to Mázandarán."

Next day Khwárazmsháh accorded Ḥusayn ibn 'Alí ibn Míká'il an audience, and heaped on him all sorts of favours. "I have read the letter," said he, "and have acquainted myself with its contents and with the King's command. Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl are gone, but Abú Naṣr, Abú Rayḥán and Abu'l-Khayr are making their preparations to appear at [Maḥmúd's] court." So in a little while he provided their outfit, and despatched them in the company of Khwája Ḥusayn ibn 'Alí ibn Míká'il. And in due course they came into the presence of Sultán Yamínu'd-Dawla Maḥmúd at Balkh, and there joined his court.

Now it was Abú 'Alí [ibn Síná] whom the King chiefly desired. He commanded Abú Naṣr-i-'Arráq, who was a painter, to draw his portrait on paper, (۷۸) and then ordered other artists to make forty copies of the portrait, and these he despatched with proclamations in all directions, and made demand of the neighbouring rulers, saying, "There is a man after this likeness, whom they call Abú 'Alí ibn Síná. Seek him out and send him to me."

Now when Abú 'Alí and Abú Sahl departed from Khwárazmsháh with Abu'l-Ḥusayn as-Suhayl's man, they so wrought that ere morning they had travelled fifteen parasangs. When it was morning they alighted at a place where there were wells, and Abú 'Alí took up an astrological table to see under what Ascendant they had started on their journey. When he had examined it he turned to Abú Sahl and said, "Judging by this Ascendant under which we started, we shall lose our way and experience grievous hardships." Said Abú Sahl, "We acquiesce in God's decree. Indeed I know that I shall not come safely through this journey, for during these two days the passage of the degree of my Ascendant¹ falls in Capricorn, which is the sector, so that no hope remains to me. Henceforth only the intercourse of souls will exist between us." So they rode on.

Abú 'Alí relates that on the fourth day a wind arose and stirred up the dust, so that the world was darkened. They lost their way, for the wind had obliterated the tracks. When the wind lulled, their guide was more astray than themselves; and, in the heat of the desert of Khwárazm, Abú Sahl-i-Masíhí, through lack of water and thirst, passed away to the World of Eternity, while the guide and Abú 'Alí, after experiencing a thousand hardships, reached Báward. There the guide turned back, while Abú 'Alí went to Tús, and finally arrived at Níshápúr.

There he found a number of persons who were seeking for Abú 'Alí. Filled with anxiety, he alighted in a quiet spot, where he abode several days, and thence he turned his face towards

¹ The term *tasyír* is explained at p. ۲۲. of Van Vloten's ed. of the *Mafáttihü'l-'ulüm*.

Gurgán, for Qábús¹, who was King of that province, was a great and philosophically-minded man, and a friend of scholars. Abú 'Alí knew that there no harm would befall him. When he reached Gurgán, he alighted at a caravanseray. Now it happened that one fell sick in his neighbourhood, and Abú 'Alí treated him, and he got better. Then he treated another patient, who also got better, and so people began to bring him their water in the morning for him to look at, and he began to earn an income, which continued to increase day by day. Some time elapsed thus, until an illness befell one of the relatives of Qábús ibn Washmgír, who was the King of Gurgán. The physicians set themselves to treat him, (۷۹) striving and exerting themselves to the utmost, but the disease was not cured. Now Qábús was greatly concerned about this, till one of his servants said to him, "Into such-and-such a caravanseray a young man hath entered who is a great physician, and whose efforts are singularly blessed, so that several persons have been cured at his hands." So Qábús bade them seek him out and bring him to the patient, that he might treat him, seeing that the effort of one may be more blessed than that of another.

So they sought out Abú 'Alí and brought him to the patient, whom he beheld to be a youth of comely countenance, whereon the hair had scarcely begun to shew itself, and of symmetrical proportions, but now laid low. He sat down, felt his pulse, asked to see his urine, inspected it, and said, "I want a man who knows all the houses and districts of Gurgán." So they brought one, saying, "Here you are"; and Abú 'Alí placed his hand on the patient's pulse, and bade the other mention the names of the different districts of Gurgán. So the man began, and continued to name the districts until he reached one at the mention of which the patient's pulse gave a strange flutter. Then Abú 'Alí said, "Now give the streets in this quarter." The man gave them, until he arrived at the name of a street whereat that strange flutter recurred. Then Abú 'Alí said, "We need someone who knows all the houses in this street." They brought such an one, who proceeded to give out the houses till he reached a house at the mention of which the patient's pulse gave the same flutter. "Now," said Abú 'Alí, "I want someone who knows the names of all the household and can repeat them." They brought such an one, and he began to repeat them until he reached a name at the mention of which that same flutter was apparent.

Then said Abú 'Alí, "It is finished." Thereupon he turned to the confidential advisers of Qábús, and said, "This lad is in

¹ *Shamsu'l-Ma'álí* Qábús ibn Washmgír reigned A.H. 366-371 (A.D. 976-981) and again A.H. 388-403 (A.D. 998-1012). To him al-Birúni dedicated his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. See Sachau's English translation of that work, Preface, p. viii.

love with such-and-such a girl, so-and-so by name, in such-and-such a house, in such-and-such a street, in such-and-such a quarter: union with that girl is his remedy, and the sight of her his cure." The patient, who was listening, and heard all that Abú 'Alí said, hid his face in shame beneath the bed-clothes. When they made enquiries, it was even as Abú 'Alí had said¹. Then they reported this matter to Qábús, who was mightily amazed thereat and said, "Bring him before me." So Abú 'Alí ibn Síná was brought before Qábús².

Now Qábús had a copy of Abú 'Alí's portrait, which Sultán Yamínu'd-Dawla had sent to him. (ا·) "Art thou Abú 'Alí?" enquired he. "Yes, O most puissant Prince," replied the other. Then Qábús came down from his throne, advanced several paces to meet Abú 'Alí, embraced him, sat beside him on a cushion before the throne, heaped favours upon him, and enquired of him graciously, saying, "That most illustrious and accomplished man and most perfect philosopher must without fail explain to me the rationale of this treatment." "O Sire," answered Abú 'Alí, "When I inspected his pulse and urine, I became convinced that his complaint was love, and that he had fallen thus sick through keeping his secret. Had I questioned him, he would not have told me the truth; so I placed my hand on his pulse while they repeated in succession the names of the different districts, and when it came to the region of his beloved, love stirred him, the movements of his pulse altered, and I knew that she was a dweller in that quarter. Then I bade them name the streets, and when he heard the street of his beloved the same thing occurred again, so that I knew the name of the street also. Then I bade them mention the names of the households in that street, and the same phenomenon occurred when the house of his beloved was named, so that I knew the house also. Then I bade them mention the names of its inhabitants, and when he heard the name of his beloved, he was greatly affected, so that I knew the

¹ Compare the precisely similar narrative in the first story of the first book of the *Mathnawí* of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmí, and also a passage in the section of the *Dhakhlra-i-Khwārazm-shāhí* (Book vi, Guftár i, Juz' 2, ch. 3) dealing with the malady of love, of which this is a translation:—"Now the lover's pulse is variable and irregular, especially when he sees the object of his affections, or hears her name, or gets tidings of her. In this way one can discover, in the case of one who conceals his love and the name of his beloved, who is the object of his passion, and that in the following way. The physician should place his finger on the patient's pulse, and unexpectedly order the names of those persons amongst whom it may be surmised that his sweetheart is to be found to be repeated, whereupon it will appear from the patient's behaviour who his beloved is, and what her name is. Avicenna (upon whom be God's Mercy) says: 'I have tried this plan, and have succeeded by it in finding out who the beloved object was.'" Avicenna's actual words are quoted from the *Qánún* on pp. ۲۴۹-۲۵۰ of the Persian notes.

² We have it on Avicenna's own authority that he arrived in Jurján just too late to see Qábús, who had been deposed and cast into prison, where he was soon afterwards put to death in 403/1012-1013. (See pp. ۲۵۰-۲۵۱ of the Persian notes.)

name of his sweetheart also. Then I told him my conclusion, and he could not deny it, but was compelled to confess the truth."

Qábús was greatly astonished at this treatment and was filled with wonder, and indeed there was good reason for astonishment. "O most glorious, eminent and excellent one," said he, "both the lover and the beloved are the children of my sisters, and are cousins to one another. Choose, then, an auspicious moment that I may unite them in marriage." So Master Abú 'Alí chose a fortunate hour, and in it the marriage-knot was tied, and lover and beloved were united, and that handsome young prince was delivered from an ailment which had brought him to death's door. And thereafter Qábús maintained Abú 'Alí in the best manner possible, and thence he went to Ray, and finally became minister to the Sháhinsháh 'Alá'u'd-Dawla¹, as indeed is well known in the history of Abú 'Alí ibn Síná's life.

ANECDOTE XXXVII.

The author of the *Kámilu's-Sinā'at*² was physician to 'Adu-du'd-Dawla³ in Párs, in the city of Shíráz. Now in that (city) there was a porter who used to carry loads of four hundred and five hundred maunds on his back. And every five or six months he would be attacked by headache, and become restless, remaining so for ten days or a fortnight. One time he was attacked by this headache, and when seven or eight days had elapsed, and he had several times determined to destroy himself, it finally happened that one day this great physician passed by the door of his house. The porter's brothers ran to meet him, did reverence to him, and, conjuring him by God Most High, told him about their brother's condition and headache. "Show him to me," said the physician. So they brought him before the physician, who saw that he was a big man, of bulky frame, wearing on his feet a pair of shoes each of which weighed a maund and a half. Then the physician felt his pulse and asked for and examined his urine; after which, "Bring him with me into the open country," said he. They did so, and on their arrival there, he bade his servant take the porter's turban from his head, cast it round his neck, and twist it tight. Then he ordered another servant to take the shoes off the porter's feet and strike him twenty blows on the head, which he accordingly did. The porter's sons lamented loudly, but the physician was a man of consequence

¹ He was the son of Dushmanziyár, ruler over Ísfahán from A.H. 398 to 433 (A.D. 1007-1041), and is commonly known as Ibn Kákawayhi or Kákúya.

² See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, p. 237, No. 19. His name was 'Alí ibnu'l-'Abbás al-Majúsi, and he died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994). For some account of his life and work see Note XXVII at the end, and also p. 79 *supra*, n. 2 *ad calc.*

³ The second prince of the House of Búya, reigned A.H. 338-372 (A.D. 949-982).

and consideration, so that they could do nothing. Then the physician ordered his servant to take hold of the turban which he had twisted round his neck, to mount his horse, and to drag the porter after him round the plain. The servant did as he was bid, and made him run far afield, so that blood began to flow from his nostrils. "Now," said the physician, "let him be." So he was let alone, and there continued to flow from him blood stinking worse than carrion. The man fell asleep amidst the blood which flowed from his nose, and three hundred *dirhams'* weight of blood escaped from his nostrils ere the haemorrhage ceased. They then lifted him up and bore him thence to his house, and he never woke, but slept for a day and a night, and his headache passed away and never again returned or required treatment.

Then 'Adudu'd-Dawla questioned the physician as to the rationale of this treatment. "O King," he replied, "that blood in his brain was not a matter which could be eliminated by an aperient of aloes¹, and there was no other method of treatment than that which I adopted."

(۸۲) ANECDOTE XXXVIII.

Melancholia is a disease which physicians often fail to treat successfully, for, though all diseases arising from the black bile are chronic, melancholia is a pathological condition which is especially slow to pass. Abu'l-Ḥasan ibn Yahyá² in his work entitled the "Hippocratic Therapeutics" (*Mu'álaja-i-Buqrátí*), a book the like of which hath been composed by no one on the Art of Medicine, hath enumerated the leaders of thought, sages, scholars and philosophers who have been afflicted by this disease.

My master the Shaykh Abú Ja'far ibn Muḥammad Abú Sa'd³ [al-Nashawí]⁴, commonly known as Šarakh⁵, related to me, on the authority of the Imám Shaykh Muḥammad ibn 'Aqíl al-Qazwíní, on the authority of the Amír Fakhru'd-Dawla Abú Kálanjár the Búyid as follows:

"One of the princes of the House of Búya was attacked by melancholy, and was in such wise affected by the disease that

¹ *Ayáraj* or *Yára* is a compound medicine of a purgative or alterative character. The kind called *fiqrá* (from the Greek *πικρά*) has aloes as its principal active ingredient.

² See Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, p. 237, and p. ۲۵۲ of the Persian notes. He gives his own name in full as Abu'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad at-Tabarí. He was court physician to the Búyid prince Ruknu'd-Dawla from A.H. 332 (A.D. 943-4) onwards. MSS. of the work cited exist at Oxford, Munich, and in the India Office.

³ A. has Sa'dí.

⁴ This *nisba* occurs only in L.

⁵ So all texts, *صرخ*, a form hitherto unexplained.

he imagined himself to have been transformed into a cow. All day he would cry out to this one and that one saying, 'Kill me, so that a good stew may be prepared from my flesh'; until matters reached such a pass that he would eat nothing, and the days passed and he continued to waste away, and the physicians were unable to do him any good.

"Now at this juncture Abú 'Alí (Avicenna) was prime minister, and the Sháhsháh 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Muḥammad ibn Dushmanziyár¹ favoured him greatly, and had entrusted into his hands all the affairs of the kingdom, and left all matters to his judgement and discretion. And indeed since Alexander the Great, whose minister was Aristotle, no King had had such a minister as Abú 'Alí. And during the time that he was minister, he used to rise up every morning before dawn and write a couple of pages of the *Shifá*². Then, when the true dawn appeared, he used to give audience to his disciples, such as Kiyá Ra'ís Bahmanyár³, Abú Manšúr ibn Zíla⁴, 'Abdu'l-Wáhid Júzjáni⁵, Sulayman of Damascus, and me, Abú Kálanjár. We used to continue our studies till the morning grew bright, and then perform our prayers behind him; and as soon as we came forth we were met at the gate of his house by a thousand mounted men, comprising the dignitaries and notables, as well as such as had boons to crave or were in difficulties. Then the minister would mount, and this company would attend him to the Government Offices. By the time he arrived there, the number of horsemen (اشر) had reached two thousand. And there he would remain until the noon-tide prayer, and when he retired for refreshment a great company ate with him. Then he took his mid-day siesta, and when he rose up from this he would perform his prayer, wait on the King, and remain talking and conversing with him until the afternoon prayer; and in all matters of state importance there was no third person between him and the King.

"Our object in narrating these details is to shew that the minister had no leisure time. Now when the physicians proved unable to cure this young man, the case was represented to that puissant Prince 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, and his intercession was sought, so that he might bid his minister take the case in hand. So

¹ See Note XXX at end.

² One of Avicenna's most celebrated works. See the *British Museum Arabic Catalogue*, p. 745^a, and the *Supplement* to the same, No. 711, pp. 484-485.

³ Abú'l-Ḥasan Bahmanyár ibn Marzubán al-Adharbáyjáni al-Majúsi. He was one of Avicenna's most notable disciples, and died about A.H. 458 (A.D. 1066). See pp. ٢٠٢-٢٠٣ of the Persian notes.

⁴ Abú Manšúr al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Zíla al-Iṣfahání. He died in A.H. 440 (A.D. 1048-49). See p. ٢٠٣ of the Persian notes.

⁵ His *kunya* was Abú 'Ubayd and his father's name Muḥammad. He attached himself to Avicenna in Jurján in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-1013) and continued with him as long as he lived, viz. for about 25 years. He not only inspired and encouraged Avicenna during his lifetime, but collected and arranged his works after his death.

'Alá'u'd-Dawla spoke to him to this effect, and he consented. Then said he, 'Give good tidings to the patient, and say, "the butcher is coming to kill thee!"' When the patient was told this, he rejoiced. Then the minister mounted his horse, and came with his usual retinue to the gate of the patient's house, which he entered with two others. Taking a knife in his hand, he said, 'Where is this cow, that I may kill it?' The patient made a noise like a cow, meaning, 'It is here.' The minister bade them bring him into the middle of the house, bind him hand and foot, and throw him down. When the patient heard this, he ran forward into the middle of the house and lay down on his right side, and they bound his feet firmly. Then Abú 'Alí came forward, rubbing the knives together, sat down, and placed his hand on the patient's ribs, as is the custom of butchers. 'O what a lean cow!' said he; 'it is not fit to be killed: give it fodder until it gets fat.' Then he rose up and came out, having bidden them loose his hands and feet, and place food before him, saying, 'Eat, so that thou mayst speedily grow fat.' They did as Avicenna had directed and set food before him, and he ate. After that they gave him whatever draughts and drugs Avicenna prescribed, saying, 'Eat well, for this is a fine fattener for cows,' hearing which he would eat, in the hope that he might grow fat and they might kill him. So the physicians applied themselves vigorously to treating him as the minister had indicated, and in a month's time he completely recovered and was restored to health."

All wise men will perceive (۱۴) that one cannot heal by such methods of treatment save by virtue of extreme excellence, perfect science, and unerring acumen¹.

ANECDOTE XXXIX.

In the reign of Maliksháh and during part of the reign of Sanjar there was at Herát a philosopher named Adíb Isma'íl, a very great, learned and perfect man, who, however, derived his income and livelihood from his receipts as a physician². By him many rare cures of this class were wrought.

One day he was passing through the sheep-slayers' market. A butcher was skinning a sheep, and from time to time he would thrust his hand into the sheep's belly, take out some of the warm fat, and eat it. Khwája Isma'íl, noticing this, said to a

¹ This story also occurs in a versified form in Jámi's *Silsilatuh-Dhahab*. The text will be found in Note XXVIII at the end.

² This story in substantially the same form is told of Thábit ibn Qurra in al-Qift's *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukamá* (ed. Lippert), pp. 120-121, and in the *Tabaqátu 'l-Atibbá* of Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a (ed. Cairo), vol. i, pp. 216-217. From the account there given Mirzá Muḥammad has restored (in brackets) a sentence which has fallen out in the *Chahár Maqála*.

green-grocer opposite him, "If at any time this butcher should die, inform me of it before they lay him in his grave." "Willingly," replied the green-grocer. When five or six months had elapsed, one morning it was rumoured abroad that such-and-such a butcher had died suddenly without any premonitory illness. The green-grocer also went to offer his condolences. He found a number of people tearing their garments, while others were consumed with grief, for the dead man was young, and had little children. Then he remembered the words of Khwāja Isma'íl, and hastened to bear the intelligence to him. Said the Khwāja, "He has been a long time in dying." Then he took his staff, went to the dead man's house, raised the sheet from the face of the corpse, [felt his pulse, and ordered some one to strike the soles of his feet with the staff. After a while he said to him, "It is enough." Then he] began to apply the remedies for apoplexy, and on the third day the dead man arose, and, though he remained paralytic, he lived for many years, and men were astonished, because that great man had foreseen that the man would be stricken by apoplexy.

ANECDOTE XL.

The Shaykhu'l-Islám 'Abdu'lláh Anṣarí¹ (may God sanctify his spirit!) conceived a fanatical hatred of the above-mentioned man of science, (A°) and several times attempted to do him an injury, and burned his books. Now this fanatical dislike arose from religious motives, for the people of Herát believed that he could restore the dead to life, and this belief was injurious to the common people².

Now the Shaykh fell ill, and in the course of his illness developed a hiccough for the cure of which all the methods of treatment tried by the physicians availed nothing. They were in despair, and finally sent a sample of his urine to the Khwāja under the name of another, and requested him to prescribe. When Khwāja Isma'íl had inspected it, he said, "This is the urine of so-and-so, who has developed a hiccough which they are unable to cure. Bid him tell them to pound together an *istár*³ of the skins of pistachio-kernels, and an *istár* of the sugar called '*askarí*, and administer [the mixture] to him, so that he may recover; and give him also this message: 'You should study science, and not burn books.'"

¹ Concerning this celebrated mystic see pp. ۲۰۰—A of the Persian notes, and Note XXXI at the end. He was born in A.H. 396 (A.D. 1006) and died in A.H. 481 (A.D. 1089). He was the author of numerous works, some of which are extant, including the well-known Persian quatrains in which he calls himself *Pir-i-Anṣár*, *Pir-i-Hirí*, and *Anṣarí*. Though a mystic, he was a fanatical Hanbalí.

² Instead of *عوام را*, the reading adopted in the text, B. and L. have *دعوی را*, "to [his own] pretensions."

³ A weight consisting of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *mithqáls*.

So they made a powder of these two ingredients, and the patient ate it, and immediately the hiccough ceased, and the patient was relieved.

ANECDOTE XLI.

In the time of Galen one of the notables of Alexandria was attacked by pain in the finger-tips, and suffered great restlessness, being debarred from all repose. They informed Galen, who prescribed an unguent to be applied to his shoulders. As soon as they did as Galen commanded, the patient's pain ceased and he was cured. The physicians were astonished, and questioned Galen, saying, "What was [the rationale of] this treatment which thou didst adopt?" He replied, "The nerve which supplies the aching finger-tips has its origin in the shoulder. I treated the root and the branch was cured."

ANECDOTE XLII.¹

Some traces of leprosy appeared on the chest of Faḍl ibn Yaḥyá al-Barmakí (the Barmecide), whereat he was greatly distressed, and put off going to the hot bath until night-time in order that no one might become aware of this. Then he assembled his courtiers and said, "Who is considered to-day the most skilful physician in 'Irâq, Khurásân, Syria and Pârs, (Λ) and who is most famous in this respect?" They replied, "Paul the Catholicos in Shîráz." He therefore sent a messenger and brought the Catholicos from Pârs to Baghdád. Then he sat with him privately, and by way of proving him said, "There is something amiss with my foot; you must devise some treatment for it." The Catholicos said, "You must abstain from all milky foods and pickles and eat pea-soup with the flesh of chickens a year old, with sweets made of the yolk of eggs with honey. When the arrangements for this diet have been completely established, I will prescribe the proper drugs." "I will do so," said Faḍl; but that night he ate everything, according to his custom. They had prepared thick broth flavoured with carroway seed, all of which he consumed; neither did he abstain from highly-flavoured relishes or spiced beans cooked in oil².

Next day the Catholicos came and asked to inspect the patient's urine. When he looked at it his face flushed, and he said, "I cannot treat this case. I forbade thee pickles and milky foods, but thou dost partake of carroway broth and dost not

¹ This anecdote occurs only in C., but is given in the printed text, which is based on that MS.

² The description of these dishes, so far as it goes, is given on p. ٢٠٨ of the Persian notes.

avoid relishes and preserves¹, so that the treatment cannot succeed." Then Faḍl ibn Yaḥyá applauded the acumen and discernment of that great man, and revealed to him his real complaint, saying, "It was for this that I summoned thee, and what I did was for a proof."

Then the Catholicos applied himself to the treatment of the case, and did all that was possible in this matter. When some time had elapsed and there was no improvement, the Catholicos writhed inwardly, for this had appeared no great matter, yet it was thus protracted. At last one day when he was sitting with Faḍl ibn Yaḥyá, he said, "Honoured Sir, I have tried every available remedy without effect. Perchance thy father is displeased with thee. Satisfy him, and I will remove this disease from thee."

So that night Faḍl arose, went to [his father] Yaḥyá, fell at his feet, and asked for his forgiveness. His old father forgave him, [and the Catholicos continued to treat him after the same sort as before, and he began to improve, and ere long was completely cured].

Then Faḍl asked the Catholicos, "How didst thou know that the cause of my complaint was my father's displeasure?" The Catholicos answered, "I tried every known remedy without effect. So I said to myself, 'This great man has received a blow from some quarter.' (ΛΥ) I looked about, but could find no one who lay down at night dissatisfied and afflicted through thee; on the contrary, many were those who lived in comfort through thy alms, gifts and marks of favour. At length I was informed that thy father was vexed with thee, and that there had been an altercation between thee and him, and I knew that [thine ailment] arose from this. So I adopted this treatment and it passed away, and my conjecture was not at fault."

After this Faḍl ibn Yaḥyá enriched the Catholicos and sent him back to Párs.

ANECDOTE XLIII.

In the year A.H. 547 (=A.D. 1152-3)², when a battle took place at the gates of Awba³ between the King of the World Sanjar ibn Maliksháh and my master 'Alá'u'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín al-Ḥusayn ibnu'l-Ḥusayn (may God immortalise their reigns and domains!), and the Ghúrid army sustained so grievous a reverse, I wandered about Herát in the guise of a fugitive, because I was connected with the House of Ghúr, against whom enemies uttered all

¹ For the meaning of *anbajdt* (pl. of *anba* or *anbaja*), see p. 509 of the Persian notes.

² L. has "447," both in figures and writing, an evident error, since Sanjar reigned A.H. 511-552, and 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn "Jahán-súz" A.H. 544-556. A. omits the figures, and only has "in the year forty-seven."

³ See p. 74 *supra* and note 3 *ad calc.*

manner of railing accusations, rejoicing malignantly over their reverse. In the midst of this state of things, I chanced one night to be in the house of a certain great man. When we had eaten bread, I went out to satisfy a need. That nobleman by reason of whom I came to be there happened to praise me during my absence, saying, "Men know him as a poet, but, apart from his skill in poetry, he is a man of great attainments, well skilled in astrology, medicine, polite letter-writing, and other accomplishments."

When I returned to the company, the master of the house shewed me increased respect, as do those who are in need of some favour, and in a little while came and sat by me, and said, "O so-and-so, I have one only daughter, and, save her, no other near relative, and she is my treasure. Lately she has fallen a victim to a malady such that during the days of her monthly courses ten or fifteen maunds¹ of sanguineous matter come from her, and she is greatly weakened. We have consulted the physicians, several of whom have treated her, but it has availed nothing, for if this issue be checked, she is attacked with pain and swelling in the stomach, and if it be encouraged, it is increased in amount, and she is much weakened, so that I fear lest her strength may wholly fail." "Send me word," said I, "when next this state occurs."

When (λλ) ten days had passed, the patient's mother came to fetch me, and brought her daughter to me. I saw a girl very comely, but despairing of life and stricken with terror. She at once fell at my feet, saying, "O my father! For God's sake help me, for I am young, and have not yet seen the world." The tears sprang to my eyes, and I said, "Be of good cheer, this is an easy matter." Then I placed my fingers on her pulse, and found it strong, and her colour and complexion normal, while most of the ten indications were present, such as a robust habit of body, a strong constitution, a healthy temperament, a clear complexion, a favourable age, season and climate, suitable habit, propitious accessories and skill. Then I summoned a phlebotomist and bade him open the basilic vein in both her arms; and I sent away all the women. The bad blood continued to flow, and, by pressure and manipulation, I took from her a thousand *dirhams*¹ weight of blood, so that she fell down in a swoon. Then I bade them bring fire, and prepared roasted meat beside her, and put a fowl on the spit, until the house was filled with the steam of the roasting meat, and it entered her nostrils. Then she came to her senses, moved, groaned, and asked for a drink. Then I prepared for her a gentle stimulant agreeable to her taste, and treated her for a week until the loss of blood was

¹ B. has *strs.*

made good, and that illness passed away, and her monthly courses resumed their normal condition. And I called her my daughter, and she called me her father, and to-day she is to me as my other children.

CONCLUSION.

My purpose in composing this treatise and inditing this discourse is not to flaunt my merits or recall my services, but rather to guide the beginner, and also to glorify my master, the august, divinely favoured, triumphant and victorious King Ḥusámu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dunyá wa'd-Dín, defender of Islám and the Muslims, Lord of hosts in the worlds, pride of kings and sovereigns, exterminator of heathens and infidels, subduer of heretics and innovators, guardian of the days, protector of the people, forearm of the Caliphate, beauty of the church, glory of the state, organizer of the Arabs and Persians, noblest of the world, *Shamsu'l-Ma'állí, Maliku'l-Umará, Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí ibn (اى) Mas'úd ibnu'l-Ḥusayn Naṣṣru Amíri'l-Mu'minín* (may God continue his glory and increase his progress in prosperity!), by whose high station the Kingly Function is magnified, and for whose service Fortune hastens!

May God (blessed and exalted is He!) continue to embellish the Empire with his beauty, and the Kingdom with his perfection! May the eyes of my Lord's son, that divinely aided, victorious and triumphant Prince *Shamsu'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín* be brightened by his excellent conduct and heart! May the Divine Protection and Royal Favour be as a buckler to the majestic statures and virtuous forms of both! And may the heart of my Lord and Benefactor, that august, learned, just, divinely-aided, victorious and triumphant King *Fakhru'd-Dawla wa'd-Dín, Bahá'u'l-Islám wa'l-Muslimín*, King of the kings of the Mountains, be gladdened, not for a period but for ever, by the continuance of both¹!

¹ For an account of the House of Shansab or Kings of Ghúr and their genealogy, see Note I at the end. Fakhru'd-Dín Mas'úd, whom the author praises in the concluding sentence of his book, was the first of the Kings of Bámiyán and the father of Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad and Ḥusámu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí, of whom the latter was our author's special patron.

FINIS.

NOTES

Mirzá Muḥammad has elucidated his critical edition of the *Chahār Maqāla* by copious and valuable Persian notes following the text (pp. ۹۰-۲۰۹). Instead of translating them *in extenso*, it has seemed better to incorporate the shorter ones as footnotes on the pages to which they refer, and to distribute the longer ones, with considerable rearrangement and condensation, under the topics of which they treat. A little fresh matter has been added by the translator, especially in the Fourth Discourse dealing with Medicine, and a great deal more by Mírzá Muḥammad, who carefully read and richly annotated the proofs in slip. For the astrological notes (XXIV and XXXII) contributed by Mr Ralph Shirley and Mr W. Gornold the translator desires to express his deep gratitude.

NOTES

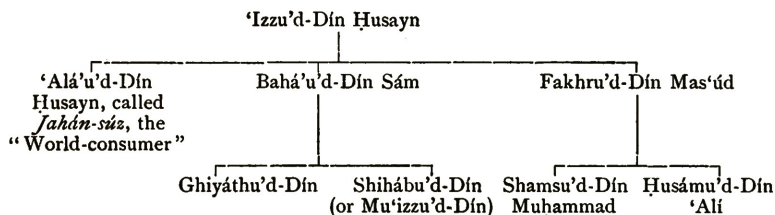
I. The Dynasty of Ghúr or House of Shansab.

(Text, pp. 1-2; Persian notes, pp. 90-2.)

The kings of Ghúr, under whose patronage our author flourished, claimed descent from Ḍaḥḥák (Dahák, Azhidaháka) the legendary tyrant of ancient Persia, who, after a reign of a thousand years, was finally overthrown by Firídún. Shansab, the more proximate ancestor from whom they derived their name, is said to have been contemporary with the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law 'Alí ibn Abú Ṭálib, to have accepted Islám at his hands, and to have received from him a standard and recognition of his rule. It was a source of pride to the family that during the Umayyad period they refused to conform to the order for the public cursing in the pulpits of the House of 'Alí.

Our principal source of information concerning this dynasty is the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násiri*¹, but the history of Herát entitled *Rawḍatu'l-Jannát* by Mu'ínu'd-Dín of Isfázár also contains a pretty full account of them. This, however, was composed nearly three centuries later (in the latter part of the fifteenth century), and, moreover, exists only in manuscript.

The independent sway of the House of Shansab endured only about 67 years (A.D. 1148-1215)², from the time when they shook off the yoke of the House of Ghazna to the time when they succumbed to the power of the Khwárazmsháhs. They were divided into two branches, who ruled respectively over Ghúr with their capital at Fírúz-kúh, and over Tukháristán with their capital at Bámiyán. The relationship existing between the chief members of the dynasty mentioned in this book is shewn in the following table.



Of these 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn of Fírúz-kúh was the most powerful and important, and raised the glory of his House to its highest point. To avenge the death of his two brothers Qutbu'd-Dín Muḥammad and Sayfu'd-Dín Súrí he made war on Bahrámsháh, entered and occupied his capital Ghazna, and looted, massacred and burned it for seven days, thus earning the title of *Jahán-súz*, the "World-consumer." He reigned from A.H. 545 to 556 (A.D. 1150-1161).

¹ Published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, and translated by Major H. G. Raverty with copious notes. Sections xvii-xix (pp. 300-507) of vol. i of the translation are devoted to this dynasty.

² See Stanley Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, pp. 291-294.

Fakhru'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, first of the Bámiyān line, brother of Ḥusayn *Jahān-sūz* and father of our author's special patron Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn 'Alī, outlived the year 558/1163, in which, according to the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, he made war on his nephews Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn and Shihāb [or Mu'izz]u'd-Dīn. The title *Maliku'l-Jibāl* ("King of the Mountains") given to him in the text was common to all the rulers of this dynasty.

Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, son of the above-mentioned Fakhru'd-Dīn and second of the Bámiyān line, survived at any rate until the year 586/1190, when he aided his cousins Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn and Shihāb [or Mu'izz]u'd-Dīn in their struggle against Sulṭān-shāh ibn Īl-arslān ibn Atsiz Khwārazm-shāh².

Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī, brother of the above-mentioned Shamsu'd-Dīn, was our author's patron to whom the *Chahār Maqāla* is dedicated, and who must therefore have been living in 551-2/1156-7 when it was written. He is only mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* (p. 104) amongst the children of Fakhru'd-Dīn Mas'ūd, and further particulars of his life are lacking.

II. The meaning of Ṭamghāj or Tapghāch.

(Text, p. 9; Persian notes, pp. 92-4.)

Ṭamghāj is generally explained as the name of a city or district in China or Chinese Turkistān. In illustration of this view Mirzā Muḥammad cites three passages from Arabic writers and some verses by the Persian poet Mukhtārī. An-Nasawī, the biographer of Sulṭān Jalālu'd-Dīn Khwārazm-shāh³, says that it is the custom of the Great Khān to spend the summer "in Ṭamghāj, which is the centre of China, and its environs"; and this statement is quoted by Abu'l-Fidā (who, however, writes the word Ṭumhāj or Ṭumkhāj) in his Geography. Al-Qazwīnī in his *Āthārul-Bilād*⁴ describes Ṭamghāj as "a great and famous city in the land of the Turks, comprising many villages lying between two mountains in a narrow defile by which only they can be approached." Finally Mukhtārī of Ghazna, in the course of a panegyric on Arslān Khān of the Khāniyya dynasty of Transoxiana, speaks of "nimble Ṭamghājī minstrels, quick at repartee."

It seems possible, however, that Ṭamghāj and Ṭafghāch⁵ are merely variants of the Eastern Turkish word *Tapghāch*, meaning "worshipful," "renowned," and used repeatedly in the sense of "Chinese" in the Orkhon inscriptions of the eighth century of our era. In this case the title "Ṭamghāj (or Tapghāch) Khān" commonly assumed by rulers of the Khāniyya dynasty really signifies "the worshipful Khān," not "the Khān of Ṭamghāj"; and the prevalent belief that there was a country called Ṭamghāj arose from a misunderstanding, and from a false analogy with such titles as Khwārazm-shāh, which does actually mean "King of Khwārazm." Mirzā Muḥammad, however, in a lengthy and learned

¹ Ed. Calcutta, pp. 29 *et seqq.*

² Ibnu'l-Athīr (ed. Tornberg), xiii, 28; *Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri*, p. 52; *Lubābu'l-Albāb* (ed. Browne), i, 321.

³ Ed. Houdas, pp. 4-5.

⁴ Ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 275.

⁵ For this form see the Persian notes to the text, pp. 151, l. 3, 189, l. 12, *etc.*

note which he has been good enough to send me, proves that the name Tamgháj was applied by early Muhammadan writers to a definite and real city, identified by him on the strongest evidence with Khán Báligh ("Cambaluc") or Pekin, also called چونكدو ("the Middle Capital") and دايدو ("the Great Capital").

See also F. W. K. Müller's *Uigurica I* (Berlin, 1908), p. 13, n. 1 *ad calc.*

III. Writers adduced as models of style.

(Text, p. 13; Persian notes, pp. 95-101.)

The Šāhib Abu'l-Qásim Isma'íl ibn 'Abbád at-Tálaqání died in 385/995-6. Yáqút, who consecrates a long notice to him in his *Irshádul-Arib*, or "Dictionary of Learned Men",¹ says that there are two places called Tálaqán, one in Khurásán, and the other, from which the Šāhib came, between Qazwín and Abhar. Mírzá Muḥammad, however, in a long manuscript note on this passage, proves conclusively that he was a native of Iṣfahán.

Shamsu'l-Ma'álí Qábús ibn Washmgír ibn Ziyár, Prince of Tabaristán, was put to death by his son Minúchihr and nobles in 403/1012-3. Of him also Yáqút gives a fairly lengthy notice². He corresponded with the Šāhib above mentioned, and was very celebrated for his skill in this form of composition. Many of his letters were collected by Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí ibn Muḥammad al-Yazdádí, and extracts are given by Muḥammad ibn Isfandiyár in his *History of Tabaristán* as well as by Yáqút. I have recently acquired a MS. of Yazdádí's compilation entitled *Kamálu'l-Balágha* (the "Perfection of Eloquence").

Abu'l-Faraj Qudáma ibn Ja'far ibn Qudáma ibn Ziyád al-Baghdádí was born and brought up a Christian, but was converted to Islám by the Caliph al-Muktafi, and died in 337/948-9. A short notice of him also occurs in Yáqút's *Irshád*³, where some dozen of his works are enumerated, of which three, the *Kitábu'l-Kharáj*, the *Naqdu'n-Nathr* and the *Kitábu'sh-Shi'r* are noticed by Brockelmann (vol. i, p. 228). Ḥarírí mentions him in his *Maqámát* as a model of eloquence.

The *Maqámát-i-Ḥamídí* were composed in 551/1156-7 by the Qádí Abú Bakr 'Umar ibn Maḥmúd, entitled Ḥamídu'd-Dín al-Maḥmúdí al-Balkhí, who died in 559/1163-4. This work has been lithographed at Kánpúr (Cawnpore) in 1268/1851-2, and at Tíhrán in 1290/1873-4. There is a very fine MS. of the 13th century of the Christian era in the British Museum (Add. 7620).

The mention of the *Maqámát* of Ḥamídí in this place is of great importance in fixing the date of composition of the *Chahár Maqála* as posterior to 551/1156-7, for since Sulṭán Sanjar, who is repeatedly (e.g. pp. 40 and 87 of the text) referred to as still living, died in 552/1157-8, it is evident that this date lies between these two limits (A.H. 551-552; A.D. 1156-1157).

¹ Vol. ii, pp. 273-343 of Prof. D. S. Margoliouth's edition in the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series (vi, 2, London, Luzac and Co., 1909).

² *Ibid.*, vol. vi, pp. 143-152.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. vi, pp. 203-205.

Abú 'Alí Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'lláh at-Tamímí al-Bal'amí was minister to the Sámání King Maṣṣūr I ibn Núḥ ibn Naṣr (reigned A.H. 350-366; A.D. 961-976), for whom he translated Ṭabarí's great history from Arabic into Persian. This Persian version was lithographed at Lucknow in 1291/1874 (800 pages), and a French translation of it by Hermann Zotenberg was published in Paris in four volumes (1867-1874). This Bal'amí (Abú 'Alí) is often confused with his father Abu'l-Faḍl, who also bore the name of Muḥammad, was minister to Isma'íl the Sámání, and died in 329/940-1, while the son, with whom we are here concerned, died in 386/996. Bal'am, from which both derive their *nisba*, is said to be a town in Asia Minor. See Sam'ání's *Ansáb* (Gibb Series, vol. xx, f. 90^a), where, however, an alternative statement represents Bal'am as a district in the village of Baláshjird near Merv.

Aḥmad ibnu'l-Ḥasan al-Maymandí, entitled **Shamsu'l-Kufát**, was for twenty years minister to Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna and his son Maṣ'úd, and died in 424/1033. He was a noted stylist, and caused all official documents to be written in Arabic, not, as had previously been the case, in Persian. His biography is given by al-'Utḥí, Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqí, 'Awfí in his *Lubábu'l-Albáb*, Ibnu'l-Aṭhír, the *Aṭṭarí'l-Wuzará* of Sayfu'd-Dín al-'Aqílí and the *Dastúru'l-Wuzará* of Khwándamír. For the references see the footnotes on pp. 98-9 of the Persian text.

Abú Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad al-Kundurí, entitled **'Amídu'l-Mulk**, was for a long while Prime Minister to the Saljúqs Ṭughríl Beg and Alp Arslán, and was finally put to death at the instigation of his yet more celebrated successor the Nizámu'l-Mulk in 456/1064, or, according to Sam'ání (*Ansáb*, f. 488^b), about 460/1067-8.

Muḥammad [ibn] 'Abduh is mentioned again on p. 24 of the text as one of the secretaries of Bughrá Khán of the Kháníyya (Turkish) dynasty of Transoxiana. He flourished in the latter part of the fourth and beginning of the fifth centuries of the *hijra*, and his poems are frequently cited in evidence by Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát in his *Ḥadd'iqu's-Sihr*, or "Gardens of Magic," a well-known work on Rhetoric.

The **'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd** here mentioned is probably **'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd ibn Yahyá ibn Sa'íd**, who was secretary to Marwán II, the last Umayyad Caliph (A.H. 127-132; A.D. 744-750), and perished with his master in the year last mentioned. It is he to whom allusion is made in the Arabic proverb: "The art of polite letter-writing opened with 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd and closed with Ibnu'l-'Amíd."

By the **Sayyidu'r-Ru'asá** it is almost certain that allusion is made to Abu'l-Maḥásin Muḥammad ibn Faḍlu'lláh ibn Muḥammad, who bore this title, and who was one of Maliksháh's under-secretaries and favourites. He was subordinate to **Sharafu'l-Mulk Abú Sa'd Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr ibn Muḥammad**, his chief in the same Ministry, and both were notable secretaries and officials of the Saljúq dynasty. See al-Bundárí's *History of the Saljúqs* (ed. Houtsma), p. 59.

Ibn 'Abbádí, called by Ibnu'l Athír (ed. Tornberg, xi, 77, 78, 88, 103) "the Preacher" (*al Wá'iz*), died at 'Askar Mukram in Rabí' ii, 547 (July, 1152). See Ibn Khallikán (Cairo ed., iii, 539-540 = de Slane's translation, iii, 365-366). A long notice of his father Ardashír is given in the *Mirdú's-Zamán* sub anno 496 (A.D. 1102-3).

By **Abíwardí** is meant **Abu'l-Muzaffar Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Qurashí al-Umawí al-Abíwardí**, a notable poet and philologist who died in 507/1113-4 at Isfahán. Yáqút gives a long notice of him in his *Irshádu'l-Arīb* (ed. Margoliouth, vol. vi, pp. 341-358).

By **Ghazzí** is meant **Abú Isháq Ibráhím ibn Yaḥyá ibn 'Uthmán ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbí**, a notable Arabic poet who travelled widely in Persia and sung the praises of the nobles of Khurásán, where his poetry, as Ibn Khallikán informs us (de Slane's translation, vol. i, pp. 38-43), thus obtained a certain circulation. He died at Balkh in 524/1130. Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát frequently quotes him in his *Hadd'iqu's-Sihr*. There is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris a fine manuscript of his *Diwán* (**Fonds Arabe 3126**) transcribed at Karkh, a quarter of Baghdád, in 590/1194. Other more eminent poets of Ghazza in Palestine bore the *nisba* al-Ghazzí, but this one, being nearly contemporary with our author and well known in Khurásán, is to him the most famous.

Abu'l-Qásim 'Alí ibn Muḥammad al-Iskáfi of Nishápúr, with whom Anecdotes II and III are concerned, completed his studies in his native town and at an early age entered the service of Abú 'Alí ibn Muhtáj-i-Chaghání, one of the Amírs in the service of the House of Sámán, who made him one of his chief secretaries and held him in high honour. He achieved a great reputation as a stylist, and repeated but unsuccessful attempts were made to secure his services at the Sámánid Court at Bukhárá. Finally, in 334/945-6, his master Abú 'Alí rebelled against his over-lord Núḥ I ibn Naṣr the Sámánid, but was finally defeated near Bukhárá and compelled to flee to his own country. Amongst those of his followers who were taken prisoner was Iskáfí, whom Núḥ imprisoned at Quhandiz near Bukhárá. Wishing to prove him and ascertain his real sentiments, Núḥ caused a forged letter, couched in the most flattering terms and purporting to be from a certain notable at the Court, to be sent to him, the letter expressing a hope that he would enter the service of Abu'l-'Abbás i-Chaghání, the brother of his late master Abú 'Alí. Iskáfí, possibly suspecting a snare, simply wrote at the foot of the letter in Arabic: "*O Lord! This prison is more acceptable to me than that whereunto they invite me*". When this was shewn to Amír Núḥ he was greatly delighted and at once released Iskáfí from prison, conferred on him a robe of honour, and made him chief assistant-secretary to Abú 'Abdu'lláh in the department of Foreign Correspondence, of which he subsequently became chief. When Amír Núḥ died in 343/954-5, his son and successor 'Abdu'l-Malik continued and even increased the honours conferred by Núḥ on Iskáfí, who, however, did not long survive the opening of the new reign. His death was

¹ *Qur'an* xii, 33.

mourned by many poets, including Hazími of Abíward, three of whose verses are quoted in the Persian notes (pp. 102-3). Tha'álíbí says in the *Yatímatu'd Dahr* (vol. iv, pp. 29-33) that Iskáfí had much greater skill in official than in private and friendly correspondence, and that, like the celebrated writer al-Jáhibí, he was as strong in prose as he was weak in verse.

There can be little doubt that the anecdote of the forged letter mentioned above forms the historical basis of a well-known story in the *Gulistán* of Sa'dí (ed. Platts, pp. 35-6; Book I, Story 25). The same anecdote is given by Yáqút in his notice of Iskáfí in the *Irshádu'l-Arib* (ed. Margoliouth, vol. v, pp. 329-331).

IV. Historical errors in Anecdote II.

(Text, pp. 13-15; Persian notes, pp. 103-105.)

This anecdote furnishes several striking instances of the glaring anachronisms and historical inaccuracies which too often deface the otherwise admirable work of our author.

(1) Iskáfí could not possibly have been secretary to Núh II ibn Manşúr, who reigned from A.H. 366 to 387 (A.D. 976-997), since, as we have seen, he died soon after the accession of 'Abdu'l-Malik in 343/954-5. Nor can we suppose that we are confronted with a mere scribe's error as to the name of the reigning king, since the whole point of the story lies in the king's name being Núh.

(2) Alptagín died, according to different authorities, in 351/962-3, 352/963, or 354/965, while Núh II ibn Manşúr did not ascend the throne until 366/976-7, so that to represent the former as living in the reign of the latter is an evident anachronism. The author has probably either confused this king with his father Manşúr I ibn Núh (reigned from 350/961-2 until 366/976-7), against whom Alptagín actually rebelled, and even conquered Ghazna (not Herát, as the author erroneously asserts); or (and this is perhaps more probable) has confused Alptagín with Abú 'Alí Simjúr, who raised a formidable rebellion against Núh II ibn Manşúr.

(3) It is true that in 383/993-4 the above-mentioned Núh summoned Subuktagín from Zábulistán to help him, but not against Alptagín, who at this date had been dead thirty years; and not in conjunction with but against Abú 'Alí Simjúr, who had long been in rebellion against him.

(4) It is almost certain that by "Abu'l-Hasan 'Alí ibn Muhtáj al-Kashání...the Chief Chamberlain" our author means the famous general Amir Abú 'Alí Aḥmad ibn Muhtáj aş-Şaghání (*i.e.* of Chagháníyán), who, however, died in 344/955-6, *i.e.* 22 years before Núh II succeeded to the throne, and 39 years before Subuktagín led his army into Khurásán in 383/993-4.

According to that great scholar Abú Rayḥán al-Birúní¹, the occasion when this verse of the *Qur'án* (xi, 34) was so aptly quoted was quite different, *viz.* by Abú Aḥmad Khalaf ibn Aḥmad the ruler of Sijistán

¹ *Al-Ātháru'l-Báqiya* (ed. Sachau), p. 332.

(or Sístán) in reply to a threatening letter addressed to him by Nūh II ibn Manšūr the Sámánid; and this is no doubt the correct version of the story, since al-Bírúní was as remarkable for his accuracy as our author is for his carelessness, and, moreover, wrote more than a century and a half earlier.

V. Historical errors in Anecdote III.

(Text, pp. 15-17; Persian notes, pp. 105-106.)

In this anecdote also our author is guilty of two historical errors.

(1) He supposes that Mákán's rebellion took place in the reign of Nūh II ibn Manšūr, whereas it really occurred in the reign of his great-grandfather Našr II ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'íl, and Mákán was defeated and killed in 329/940-1, some 37 years before Nūh's accession.

(2) The general who defeated Mákán was not Tásh, as our author states, but the Amír Abú 'Alí Aḥmad ibn Muḥtáj.

VI. Anecdote V. The Šāhib Isma'íl ibn 'Abbád.

(Text, pp. 17-18; Persian notes, pp. 107-109.)

The Šāhib Isma'íl ibn 'Abbád is, as we have seen, described by the best authorities as "of Táláqán" (*Tálaqání*), not "of Ray" (Rázi). Al-Máfarrúkhí, author of a notable but rare history of Iṣfahán, claims him as a native of that city, and cites verses composed by him during a campaign in Jurján which lend colour to this assertion¹. Al-Máfarrúkhí wrote his history between A.H. 465 and 485 (A.D. 1072-1092) in Arabic, and there is a MS. of it (Or. 3601) in the British Museum, while I possess another from the library of the late Sir Albert Houtum-Schindler. It was translated into Persian by Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'r-Riḍá al-Ḥusaynī about 730/1329-30 and dedicated to Ghiyáthu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Rashidu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh. Of this Persian version (of which I have since myself obtained a MS. formerly in the possession of Sir A. Houtum-Schindler) I published an abridged translation with extracts in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1901, also obtainable as a separate reprint.

VII. Fabrics and Materials mentioned in Anecdote VII.

(Text, pp. 19-21; Persian notes, pp. 110-111.)

Mírzá Muḥammad has kindly communicated to me the following shorter version of this anecdote from the *Kitábu'l-Kināya wa't-Ta'riḍ* of ath-Tha'libí (Berlin Arabic MS. No. 7337, Petermann II, 59, f. 146^a), who wrote about a century and a half earlier than our author:

و يُرَوَّى أَنَّ بَوْرَانَ بِنْتَ الْحَسَنِ بْنِ سَهْلٍ لَمَّا زُفَّتْ إِلَى الْمَأْمُونِ حَاضَتْ
 مِنْ هَيْبَةِ الْخَلِيفَةِ فِي غَيْرِ وَقْتِ الْحَيْضِ فَلَمَّا اخْلَا بِهَا الْمَأْمُونُ وَ مَدَّ
 يَدَهُ إِلَى تَكْتَبِهَا قَرَأَتْ أَتَى أَمْرُ اللَّهِ فَلَا تَسْتَعْجِلُوهُ ففطن لها و تعجَّب
 مِنْ حُسْنِ كُنَايَتِهَا وَ أَزْدَادِ إِعْجَابِهَا

¹ Cf. p. 103 *supra*.

Three of the precious fabrics mentioned in this story are included in the glossary added by Mírzá Ḥabīb of Iṣfahán to his edition of the *Diwán-i-Albisa* (Constantinople 1303/1885-6) of Nizámu'd-Dín Maḥmúd Qárl of Yazd, the poet of clothes. *Aṭlas* "is called by the Franks 'satin'." *Aksún* is "a black brocade (*dibá*), like *dabíqí* (a fine silken stuff) worn by the great for ostentation." *Nasíj* is "silk inwoven with gold." See Yule's *Marco Polo* (ed. 1875), vol. i, pp. 65, 67, 276 and 285.

Of the remainder the exact nature is more doubtful. Mírzá Muḥammad makes the following remarks (notes, p. 110):

Mumazzaj appears to mean a garment made of gold 'mixed' with some other substance. This fabric is mentioned by Ibnu'l-Athír *sub anno* 512/1118-9 (ed. Tornberg, vol. x, p. 382).

Miqráḍí is some precious fabric of which the exact nature is not clear, but it is also mentioned, with the addition of the epithet *Rúmi* (Greek or of Asia Minor) in a quaint passage in al-Máfarrahí's History of Iṣfahán (see the last note), cited on p. 110 of the Persian notes, where a dying nobleman requests that his shroud shall be made of this material, not, as the bystanders suggest, of plain linen, because he is unwilling to appear before God less sumptuously clad than it had been his habit for sixty years to appear before his fellow-men.

On the nature of *Ma'díní* and *Malíkí* no information is obtainable, nor on *Tamím*, which the editor of the Tíhrán lithographed edition has seen fit to emend to *Tumam* (pl. of *Tumma*), meaning a handful of wool or hair plucked from a sheep or other animal, an emendation neither plausible nor appropriate to the context, although the aforesaid editor mentions it with especial pride and satisfaction in his concluding note.

VIII. Another historical error in Anecdote VIII.

(Text, pp. 21-2; Persian notes, p. 111.)

In this story the author has, according to Mírzá Muḥammad, confused Sultán Mas'úd with Sultán Sanjar, for all the historians agree that it was against the former, not the latter, member of the House of Saljúq that the Caliph al-Mustarshid marched forth from Baghdád. When the two armies met near Kirmánsháh most of the Caliph's troops deserted to Mas'úd, and he himself was taken prisoner. On his arrival at Marágha he fell a victim to the Assassins of Alamút in 529/1134-5.

IX. The Gúr-Khán and the Qára-Khitá'í dynasty.

(Text, p. 22; Persian notes, pp. 112-113.)

The battle to which reference is here made took place in 536/1141-2, and is generally known as the Battle of Qaṭawán¹, this place being a suburb or quarter of Samarqand. The Muslims are said to have lost 100,000 men (of whom 12,000 were "turbaned," i.e. belonged to the learned or clerical classes), and Sultán Sanjar's wife was taken prisoner. The power of this dynasty of unbelieving Turks, known as Qára-Khitá'í and Gúr-Khání, which endured for more than eighty years, dates from this battle. They were finally overthrown by Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dín Muḥammad in alliance with the Tartar Kúchluk Khán in 607/1210-11.

¹ See Ibnu'l-Athír (ed. Tornberg), vol. xi, p. 57.

For more than two centuries which elapsed between the fall of the Sámánid and the rise of the Mongol power there existed in Transoxiana a Muslim Turkish dynasty variously known as "Ílak-Khaní," "Khání" and "Afrásiyábi." These the Qára-Khitá'is suffered to remain, only requiring of them the payment of tribute and the acceptance of a political resident (*Shahna*) at their Court. From most of the Khwárazm-sháhs also they received tribute until overthrown by them in 607/1210-11 as mentioned above.

This collapse of the Qára-Khitá'i power proved, in fact, to be a great calamity for the Khwárazm-sháhs in particular and the Muslims in general, for thereby was broken down a barrier which had hitherto effectively protected them from the Mongols and other predatory heathens who dwelt further to the north and east, and so was prepared that great catastrophe which shortly afterwards laid waste the Muslim world; a fact emphasized by Ibnu'l-Athír (ed. Tornberg, xii, p. 235) in a passage translated in the second volume of my *Literary History of Persia*, p. 430.

The word *Gúr-Khán*¹ (otherwise *Kúr-Khán*, *Kú-Khán*, *Úz-Khán*, *Úr-Khán* or *Or-Khán*) was a generic title of these Kings, not the proper name of any one of them. Ibnu'l-Athír says: "*Ku* in the Chinese language is a title given to the greatest of their Kings, while *Khán* is a title of the Kings of the Turks, so that it [the compound *Ku-Khán*] means 'Greatest of Kings'." In the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-gusháy* (vol. ii, p. 86) and in the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-árd* also it is explained as *Khán-i-Khánán*, i.e. "Khán of Kháns" or "Great Khán"; and on the same authority the name of this particular *Gúr-Khán* is said to have been Qúshqín Táyqú. Dr Babinger has kindly called my attention to a note on Ibn 'Arabsháh's explanation of *Gúr-Khán* by S. de Sacy in the *Mémoires de l'Académie* for 1822, p. 476.

X. Atmatigín, Amír Bayábání and Átsiz.

(Text, p. 22; Persian notes, p. 114.)

The correct form and signification of the first and second of these three names is uncertain, and the MSS. differ in their readings. The first has been found by Mírzá Muḥammad in the History of Bukhárá of Muhammad ibn Zufar ibn 'Umar, composed in 574/1178-9, only 38 years after the Battle of Qatawán, but here also the MSS. differ, the British Museum MS. (Add. 2777, f. 28^a) having "Aymantigín" or "Ímantigín," and the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. (Suppl. Pers. 1513, f. 23^b) "Alítigín." It is evidently one of the numerous Turkish names ending in *tigín* (like Subuktigín, Alptigín, etc.) but the first element remains doubtful. The same uncertainty affects "the son of the Amír Bayábání, on whose identity no satisfactory light has yet been thrown."

¹ Mírzá Muḥammad cites two passages which show, by the word-plays wherein lies their point, that by the Persians at any rate the pronunciation *Gúr-Khán* was adopted. Kháqání says:

نه بر سنجر شیخون برد اول گورخان آخر

شیخون زد اجل تا گورخانه شد شبستانش

See also vol. ii, p. 93 of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-gusháy*:

و گورخان را گور خانمان شد

The name *Átsiz*, also Turkish, is compounded of *át* (Western Turkish *ad*) "name," and the privative *siz* "without," and consequently means "nameless." According to Ibn Khallikán it was customary amongst the Turks when a man lost several sons in childhood to give this name, which was supposed to be a protection, to a newly-born son in the hope that he might survive.

XI. The House of Burhán (*Ál-i-Burhán*).

(Text, p. 22, *bis*; Persian notes, pp. 114-121.)

The "Sons of Burhán," or Banú Máza, were one of the great families of Bukhárá, celebrated for their splendour and bounty, and were hereditary leaders of the Hanafí school of Sunnī doctrine which prevailed in Transoxiana. During the later Qará-Khitá'í period they held an almost regal position, and paid tribute to that dynasty. Qazwiní in his *Átháru'l-Bilád* (ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 343), composed in 674/1275-6, mentions 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Marwán as the head of the house in his time, and it still flourished in the reign of Úljáyutú (Khudá-banda) the Mongol (A.H. 703-716; A.D. 1303-1316), after which all trace of it is lost. Mírzá Muḥammad has collected from various sources a mass of information about fourteen of the most eminent members of this family, which he embodied in the notes contributed by him to my edition of 'Awfí's *Lubábu'l-Albáb* (vol. i, pp. 332-6), and which he has reproduced in his notes to the *Chahár Maqála*. These are as follows.

(1) The Imám Burhánu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz ibn Máza of Bukhárá, the first member of the family to attain celebrity.

(2) His son Ḥusámu'd-Dín 'Umar ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, born in Šafar 483 (April 1090) and put to death in 536/1141-2 after the Battle of Qaṭawán by the Gúr-Khán, as mentioned by our author, and hence called "the Martyr." See Ibn Quṭlúbugha's *Táju't-Tarájim fí Ṭabaqáti'l-Hanafíyya* (ed. Flügel, Leipzig, 1862), p. 34, No. 139, where five or six of his works are enumerated.

(3) Táju'l-Islám Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, who succeeded his brother above mentioned, as recorded by our author, and enjoyed the favour and confidence of the Gúr-Khán.

(4) Shamsu'd-Dín Šadr-i-Jahán Muḥammad, son of Ḥusámu'd-Dín "the Martyr," who in 559/1163-4 saved Bukhárá from being looted by the Qarluq Turks, and whose praises were sung by Súzaní in verses of which seven are given as a specimen on pp. 116-7 of the Persian notes.

(5) Šadru's-Šudúr Šadr-i-Jahán Burhánu'd-Dín 'Abdu'l-'Azíz, another son of Ḥusámu'd-Dín "the Martyr," to whom Muḥammad ibn Zufar ibn 'Umar in 574/1178-9 dedicated his Persian version of an-Narshakhi's Arabic History of Bukhárá, composed in 332/943-4 for the Sámánid King Núḥ ibn Našr. Instances of his magnanimity and generosity are given by 'Awfí in his vast, but unfortunately unpublished, collection of stories, the *Jawámi'u'l-Hikdyát wa Lawámi'u'r-Riwdyát*, of which two are given in the Persian notes (pp. 117-8).

(6) Burhānu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd ibn Tāju'l-Islām Aḥmad, author of the *Dhakhīratu'l-Fatāwā* (also called *adh-Dhakhīratu'l-Burhāniyya*) mentioned by Ḥājji Khalīfa.

(7-10) Burhānu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Ṣadr-i-Jahān ibn Aḥmad, brother of the above; his two sons Maliku'l-Islām and 'Azizu'l-Islām, and another brother, Iftikhār-i-Jahān. The first of these four was practically King of Bukhārā and paid tribute to the Khitā'is, as indicated by a passage in an-Nasawī's Biography of Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn Mankobirni¹. In 603/1206-7, while on his way to Mecca, he was received with great respect at Baghdād, but on his return there, on account of his behaviour towards the pilgrims, he incurred such unpopularity that he earned for himself the nick-name of *Ṣadr-i-Jahannam* (the "Chief" or "President of Hell"). In 613-614/1216-17, when 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh set out on his campaign against the Caliph an-Nāṣir li-Dīnillāh, as a precautionary measure he deported these four persons (Burhānu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and his brother and two sons) from Bukhārā to Khwārazm. Two years later (in 616/1219), when Khwārazmshāh's mother Turkān Khātūn decided to flee thence for fear of the Mongol advance, she put all four of them to death, together with other hostages resident at her capital².

(11) Ṣadr-i-Jahān Sayfu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz (son of No. 5), who is repeatedly mentioned as still living in 'Awfi's *Lubāb*-*Albāb*, which was written in 618/1221.

(12) Burhānu'l-Islām Tāju'd-Dīn 'Umar ibn Mas'ūd ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz ibn Māza (grandson of No. 3, nephew of Nos. 6, 7 and 8, and cousin of Nos. 9 and 10). He was one of the teachers and masters of 'Awfi, who makes mention of him also in the *Lubāb* (ed. Browne, vol. i, pp. 169-174).

(13) Nizāmu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, son of the above, also mentioned by 'Awfi (i, 176), who spent some days with him at the town of Āmul³ on the Oxus about 600/1203-4.

(14) Another Burhānu'd-Dīn (pedigree unspecified) is mentioned by 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Atā Malik-i-Juwaynī in connection with the rebellion of Tārābī in 636/1238-9⁴.

The latest historical reference to any member of this family occurs in the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahān-ārā* of the Qādī Aḥmad-i-Ghaffārī, who states that Ūljāytū (Khudā-banda, reigned A.D. 1303-1316) was impelled to embrace the Shī'a doctrine by his disgust at the unseemly altercations of two Sunni theologians of different schools, Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Malik the Shāfi'ī, and Ṣadr-i-Jahān of Bukhārā the Ḥanafī. The title, place of

¹ This passage is cited in the Persian notes, p. 118, fourth line from the end to p. 119, l. 6. It occurs on pp. 23-4 of the edition of M. O. Houdas (Paris, 1891), and on pp. 41-2 of his French translation (Paris, 1895).

² *An-Nasawī* (ed. Houdas), p. 39 = pp. 66-7 of the French translation.

³ See Yāqūt's *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, vol. i, pp. 69-70, and G. le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 434. The town is also called *Āmul* by the Arabs, like the better-known town of that name in Māzandarān.

⁴ See Mirzā Muḥammad's edition of the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahān-gushāy*, vol. i, p. 88 ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xvi, 1).

struck at Bukhárá, Khujand, Farghána, Úzkand, Şagháníyán, Samarqand, Úsh and Ílâq, *i.e.* in all the chief cities of Transoxiana and Turkistán¹. He reigned for twenty years (A.H. 383-403 = A.D. 993-1013), overthrew the authority of the Sámánids in Transoxiana, and quarrelled with Sultán Maḥmúd over the partition of their territories, which were finally divided between them.

XIII. Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdu’lláh al-Khujistání.

(Text, p. 26 ; Persian notes, pp. 123-4.)

Khujistán is a district dependent on Bádghís and situated in the mountains of Herát. This Aḥmad was originally an Amír in the service of the Ṭáhirids, but on their collapse he joined the Şaffárids, and finally exercised authority over the greater part of Khurásán. Finally he fought and defeated the Şaffárid ‘Amr ibn Layth at Nishápúr, struck money in his own name, and was contemplating the conquest of ‘Irâq, when he was murdered by some of his own servants after exercising more or less independent authority for eight years (A.H. 260-8 ; A.D. 874-82).

In the *Ta’rīkh-i-Guzida*² Sámán, the ancestor of the Sámánid Kings, is represented as the person thus affected by these verses; but, apart from the improbability that Persian verse existed in his time, at any rate in the form in which it is known to us, Ḥanzala, the author of these verses, flourished under the Ṭáhirid dynasty, of which the founder was contemporary with Asad the son of Sámán.

XIV. Poets and writers mentioned in Anecdote XII.

(Text, pp. 27-8; Persian notes, pp. 125-56.)

Sallámí.—Abú ‘Alí as-Sallámí al-Bayhaqí of Nishápúr died in 300/912-3. According to ath-Tha‘alibí (*Yatima*, iv, 29) he was attached as secretary to Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Muzaffar ibn Muḥtáj and his son Abú ‘Alí Aḥmad. He wrote many books, of which the most famous is the “history” referred to in the text, *viz.* the History of the Governors of Khurásán, which was used by Ibn Khallikán, especially in his notice of Ya‘qúb ibn Layth the Şaffárid. A short notice of Sallámí occurs in Ibn Funduq’s History of Bayhaq, composed in 563/1167-8 in Persian, of which a good MS. (Or. 3587) exists in the British Museum. The text of this article is given in the original by Mirzá Muḥammad on p. 125 of the Persian notes.

Sharíf-i-Mujallidí of Gurgán.—This poet is mentioned in ‘Awfí’s *Lubáb* (vol. i, pp. 13-14), where he is called Abú Sharíf Aḥmad ibn ‘Alí, and where this same verse is cited.

Rúdakí (or -gí).—One of the oldest and most authentic notices of this ancient and celebrated Persian poet occurs in the *Ansáb* of Sam‘ání³, who says that he derived his pen-name (*takhalluṣ*) from his native place

¹ See Sir Henry Howorth’s paper referred to in the last paragraph.

² Ed. Jules Gantin (Paris, 1903), pp. 20-21; Gibb Memorial facsimile ed. (xiv, 1), p. 379.

³ The text, given on pp. 125-6 of the Persian notes, occurs on f. 262^a of the “E. J. W. Gibb Memorial” edition (vol. xx, published in 1912).

Rúðak, a district situated near Samarqand. His full name was Abú 'Abdu'lláh Ja'far ibn Muḥammad; he was "the first to produce good poetry in Persian," and he died in 329/940-1. See the late Dr Hermann Ethé's monumental paper *Rúdagí, der Sámáníedendichter*¹. The vocalization **Rawdhakí** also occurs, with the addition of the names of the poet's grandfather (Ḥakím), great-grandfather ('Abdu'r-Raḥmán), and great-great-grandfather (Ádam). See my *Hand-list of Muḥammadan Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1900), No. 701, pp. 125-6.

Abu'l-'Abbás as-Ribanjaní's full name was Faḍl ibn 'Abbás. See 'Awfí's *Lubáb*, vol. ii, p. 9. Ribanjan (the correct reading is due to the late Professor de Goeje) is a city near Sughd and Samarqand, given by Yáqút in the corrupt form "Rabaykhan." It is also mentioned in the *Ansáb* of as-Sam'ání (Gibb Series, vol. xx, ff. 23^b and 248^b) as *Arbinjan* and *Rabinjan*. Mírzá Muḥammad has furnished me with a fresh reference to this Abu'l-'Abbás in the *Thimáru'l-Qulúb* (Cairo ed., p. 147) of ath-Tha'álíbí, where some Persian verses (a good deal corrupted in the printed text) from an unlucky *qaṣída* which he composed on the occasion of a festival in the thirty-first and last year of the reign of his patron Naṣr ibn Aḥmad the Sámánid (A.H. 331 = A.D. 942-3) are cited.

Abu'l-Mathal of Bukhárá is mentioned in the *Lubáb* (ii, 26) and in Asadí's *Glossary* (ed. P. Horn, p. 28). The vocalization "Mathal" is proved by a verse of Míntúchíhrí's in which mention is made of ten old Persian poets, all of whom are identified by Mírzá Muḥammad, who cites the verse (pp. 127-9 of the Persian notes). Of these the most interesting is Shahíd of Balkh, who resembles 'Umar Khayyám in this, that his real fame as a philosopher has amongst his countrymen been eclipsed by his fame as a poet, though he was much more notable in the former than in the latter capacity. He is mentioned in the *Fihrist*, p. 299, as a doughty antagonist of Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyá ar-Rázi (the great physician), who wrote a treatise in refutation of some of his opinions. Yáqút also mentions him in his article on *Jahúdhának* near Balkh, the village in which he was born, while Tha'álíbí reckons him as one of the four greatest men produced by that ancient city. The correct reading in this last case is given in the Paris MS. of the *Yatimatu'd-Dahr*; in the printed text it appears as "Sahl ibnu'l-Hasan" instead of "Shahídu ibnu'l-Husayn." That he predeceased Rúðakí, who died in 329/940-1, is proved by a verse in which that poet laments his death. He is casually mentioned, as Mírzá Muḥammad points out to me, in two passages in Yáqút's "Dictionary of Learned Men" (Gibb Series, vi, 1, pp. 143 and 149), and an article on him was included in the lost fourth volume of this work. 'Awfí also relates a short and rather pointless story about him in the *Jawámi'u'l-Ḥikáyát* (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 2676, f. 235^b).

Abú Isháq-i-Júybárf's personal name, according to the *Lubáb* (ii, 11) and Asadí's *Glossary* (p. 17), was Ibráhím, and his father's name was Muḥammad. The Júybár from which he derived his *nisba* was apparently situated near Bukhárá.

¹ *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1873, pp. 663-742.

Abu'l-Ḥasan Aghājī was one of the nobles of the Sāmānid Court whose praises were sung by Daqīqī¹. This celebrated poet, as appears from 'Awfī's *Lubāb* (i, 31-2) and Asadī's *Lughat* (p. 17), was contemporary with Nūḥ II ibn Mansūr the Sāmānid, who reigned from A.H. 366 to 387 (A.D. 976-997). Aghājī's full name was Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Ilyās al-Aghājī (or al-Aghjī) of Bukhārā. His title *Aghājī* (or one of its several variants) appears to be a Turkish word meaning a chamberlain or personal servant of a king, serving as an intermediary between him and his subjects². There is a notice of him in ath-Tha'alibī's Supplement³ to his *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr*, from which we learn that he was fond of translating his own Persian verses into Arabic verse. How he understood the art of verse-translation may be seen by comparing the Persian verses in 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, i, 32, ll. 1-4 with the Arabic rendering on p. 130, ll. 5-6, of the Persian notes to the *Chahār Maqāla*.

About **Tahāwī** (so in all three MSS.) nothing is known⁴. For **Khabbāzī** of Nishāpūr, see 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, ii, 27, where, however, except that he is included amongst the poets of the Sāmānid period, no particulars are given. The modern *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* (i, 199) makes him a contemporary of Rūdagī, Kisā'ī, etc., and gives the date of his death as A.H. 342 (A.D. 953-4), but on what authority is not stated.

Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Kisā'ī was born, as stated by himself in one of his poems⁵, on Wednesday, Shawwāl 26, A.H. 341 (March 16, 953), and had attained the age of fifty when he wrote it. How much longer he lived is unknown. The late Dr Hermann Ethé wrote a valuable monograph on him (*Die Lieder des Kisā'i*) in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akad. (philos.-philol. Classe)* for 1874, pp. 133-153.

Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī Bahrāmī of Sarakhs was not only a poet but composed several reputable works on Prosody and Rhyme, such as the *Ghāyatul-'Arūḍayn*, *Kanzul-Qāfiya* and *Khujista*, often cited by Shams-i-Qays in his *Mu'jam fi Ma'āyiri Ash'aril-'Ajam*⁶. His date is not exactly known, and the statements of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* (i, 173) tend rather to obscure than to elucidate it.

Zīnatī, called 'Alawī "the descendant of 'Alī," was one of the court poets of Ghazna under Sultān Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd, and is twice mentioned by Abu'l-Faḍl of Bayḥāq in his *Ta'rīkh-i-Mas'ūdi* (Tīhrān ed., pp. 125 and 276) as receiving a handsome present for his verse.

¹ The only authority for this statement is the passage in 'Awfī's *Lubāb* cited in the next line, and, as Mirzā Muḥammad now thinks, it is not certain that it will bear so precise an interpretation.

² For the evidence for this see a note by Mirzā Muḥammad in my edition of 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, i, 297-8.

³ There is a fine MS. of this *Tatīmna*, or Supplement, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (Fonds Arabe, 3308). Unfortunately it still remains unpublished.

⁴ He is, perhaps, identical with the *Tukhdarī* (or native of Tukhdaristān) mentioned in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥā* as Khabbāzī's contemporary.

⁵ The first eight verses are cited in the Persian notes, pp. 131-2. The whole *qaṣīda* is given in 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, ii, 38-9.

⁶ Vol. x of the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series.

The full name of **Buzurjmīhr** of Qáyin was Amīr Abū Maṣṣūr Qasīm ibn Ibrāhīm, and he flourished during the same period as the above-mentioned Zinatī. Abū Maṣṣūr ath-Thaʿālībī mentions him in the *Tatīmma*¹, or Supplement to his *Yatīmatu'd-Dahr*, as one of the bilingual poets, who wrote both in Arabic and Persian, and quotes some of his Arabic verses, including some very shrewd satires on a miser.

By **Muzaffarī** is meant Muzaffar of Panjdih (see 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, ii, 63-65). Dr Paul Horn in his edition of Asadī's *Lughat* has misread "Marwī" (of Merv) as "Hirawī" (of Herāt), and has confused this poet with a later namesake who died in A.H. 728 (A.D. 1327-8).

The proper name of **Manshurī** was Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad of Samarqand (see 'Awfī's *Lubāb*, ii, 44-46). He is mentioned by Rashīdu'd-Dīn Waṭwāt in the *Ḥaḍḍīqu's-Sihr* as especially skilful in composing verses of the kind called *Mulawwan*, capable of being scanned in two or more metres.

Mas'ūdī was one of the court poets of Sulṭān Mas'ūd of Ghazna, whose anger he incurred, as we learn from Bayhaqī's history², by some admonitory verses in which he (with a foresight justified by subsequent events) warned his sovereign against the growing power of the Saljūq Turks.

Qaşarāmī was one of the panegyrists of Sulṭān Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd of Ghazna. He is mentioned by Asadī in his *Lughat* (p. 27). His name remains unexplained, nor is it known to what this *nisba* refers.

Abū Ḥanīfa-i-Iskāf³ was one of the court poets of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm ibn Mas'ūd of Ghazna (reigned A.H. 451-492 = A.D. 1059-1099), and is repeatedly so described, in terms of the warmest eulogy, by Abu'l-Faḍl-i-Bayhaqī (ed. Ṭīhrān, pp. 276-281, 387-391 and 633-636). 'Awfī, therefore, can hardly be correct in including him amongst the poets of Sulṭān Sanjar the Saljūq (A.H. 511-552 = A.D. 1117-1157). The account of him given in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā* is full of the most astonishing confusions and chronological errors, fully set forth by Mīrzā Muḥammad at the conclusion of his long note (pp. 136-140 of the Persian text) on this poet.

Rāshidī is not mentioned by any of the biographers, but somewhat detailed references are made to him by his contemporary and rival Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān (see below) in two of his *qaṣīdas* cited by Mīrzā Muḥammad in the Persian notes (pp. 140-142).

Abu'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī was a younger contemporary of the two poets above mentioned, for he survived into the reign of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm's son Mas'ūd III (A.H. 492-508 = A.D. 1099-1114), so that the biographer Taqīyyu'd-Dīn-i-Kāshī is evidently mistaken in placing his death in

¹ See p. 115 *supra*, n. 3 *ad calc.*

² Ṭīhrān lithographed ed., p. 601.

³ This is the form given here and in 'Awfī's *Lubāb* (ii, 175-6), but Abu'l-Faḍl Bayhaqī, his contemporary and friend, calls him "Iskāfī," which is probably the correct form. (*Tārīkh-i-Bayhaqī*, ed. Ṭīhrān, pp. 276-281.) Iskāf, according to as-Sam'ānī, is a suburb of Baghdād, but, on the face of it, it is not likely that our Iskāfī can have been directly connected with that city.

A.H. 489 (A.D. 1096). Rūna, from which he took his *nisba*, was a place near Lahore, not, as asserted in the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, in Khāwarān of Khurāsān, nor, as the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā* states, near Nishāpūr.

Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān.—On this poet Mīrzā Muḥammad wrote a long critical notice, based on a careful study of his poems, which I translated into English and published in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1905 (pp. 693–740) and 1906 (pp. 11–51). The substance of this, which he has summarized in the Persian notes (pp. 142–150 and 178–182) to this text, is here given in a still more condensed form. The poet's family came originally from Hamadān in Persia, but he himself was born at Lahore, of which, in several passages in his poems, he speaks as his native place. Five Kings of the House of Ghazna were the objects of his panegyrics, to wit Ibrāhīm, Mas'ūd III, Shīrẓād, Arslān and Bahrāmshāh, whose reigns extended over a period of 96 lunar or 93 solar years (A.H. 451–547 = A.D. 1059–1152). His special patron was Sultān Ibrāhīm's son Maḥmūd, who was made governor of India in A.H. 469 (A.D. 1076–7), an event which the poet asserts to have been foreshadowed fifty years earlier by the great astronomer al-Bīrūnī in his *Tafhīm*¹. This is the earliest date explicitly mentioned by Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd. He was probably born about A.H. 440 (A.D. 1048–9) and died about A.H. 515 (A.D. 1121–2). In A.H. 480 (A.D. 1087–8) he shared the suspicion and disgrace into which his master fell and was imprisoned in different fortresses for ten years. At the end of this period he was set free at the intercession of Abu'l-Qāsim, one of Sultān Ibrāhīm's courtiers, and returned to his father's estate in India. In A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098–9) Sultān Ibrāhīm died and was succeeded by his son Mas'ūd III, who conferred the government of India on his son Shīrẓād, with whom he sent Qiwāmu'l-Mulk Abū Naṣr Hibatu'llāh of Pārs as commander-in-chief and adviser. This man, being an old friend of the poet, made him governor of Jālandar, a dependency of Lahore; but soon afterwards fell into disfavour in which his clients were involved, and Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd was again imprisoned in the fortress of Maranj for another period of eight or nine years. Finally, about A.H. 500 (A.D. 1106–7), he was released at the intercession of Thiqatu'l-Mulk Ṭāhir ibn 'Alī ibn Mushkān. Being now sixty years of age and worn out by his long confinements, he retired from public life and spent the remainder of his days in seclusion. Many contemporary poets, such as 'Uthmān Mukhtārī of Ghazna, Mu'izzī and Sanā'ī (who first collected and edited his poetry) bear witness to his pre-eminence in their art.

Jamālu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Nāṣir al-'Alawī and his brother Sayyid Hasan ibn Nāṣir of Ghazna were two well-known poets of the court of Bahrāmshāh, as was also Shihābu'd-Dīn Shāh 'Alī Abū Rijā. See 'Awfi's *Lubābu'l-Albāb*, vol. ii, pp. 267–282.

There is a faint probability that Aḥmad-i-Khalaf may have been the son of Khalaf ibn Aḥmad, the ruler of Sistān, a probability enhanced by the fact that the latter bore the *kunya* of Abū Aḥmad, although there is no other record of the existence of such a son.

¹ See the verses from this interesting poem cited on pp. 144–5 of the Persian notes, and note 1 at the foot of the latter.

'**Uthmán ibn Muḥammad Mukhtārī** of Ghazna died in A.H. 544 (A.D. 1149-1150) or A.H. 554 (A.D. 1159). He was the panegyrist of Arslán and his brother and successor Bahrámsháh of the House of Ghazna, whose reigns extended from A.H. 509-552 (A.D. 1115-1157); of Arslánsháh the Saljúq of Kirmán (A.H. 494-536 = A.D. 1100-1141); and of Arslán Khán Muḥammad of the Turkish Khániyya dynasty of Transoxiana (A.H. 495-524 = A.D. 1101-1130). Mírzá Muḥammad (p. 151 of the Persian notes) calls attention to some extraordinary chronological errors in the notice of this poet in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, and some arbitrary alterations of the text of certain poems into which these errors have misled the author.

Abu'l-Majd **Majdúd ibn Ádam as-Saná'í** of Ghazna, the well-known mystical poet, author of the *Ḥadīqatu'l-Ḥaqīqa* and an extensive *Diwán*, died, according to the most correct statement, in A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150-1). The date given by Jámī in his *Nafahātu'l-Uns* (p. 697), viz. A.H. 525 (A.D. 1131), is certainly much too early, since Saná'í composed verses on the death of Mu'izzí, which took place in A.H. 542 (A.D. 1147-8).

Najíbí of Farghána (of whom further mention is made in Anecdote XIX) was one of the court poets of Khiḍr Khán ibn Taṣgháj Khán (of the Khániyya dynasty of Transoxiana) who succeeded to the throne in A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079-1080) and died after a brief reign. '**Am'aq of Bukhárá**, poet-laureate of the same king, died, according to Taḳīyyu'd-Dín of Káshán, in A.H. 543 (A.D. 1148-9). Abú Muḥammad 'Abdu'lláh (or 'Abdu's-Sayyid) **Rashídí of Samarqand**, **Najjár-i-Ságharjí** (from Ságharj, a village of Sughd), '**Alí Pánidhí** and **Pisar-i-Darghúsh** were poets attached to the same court, of whom little or nothing is known.

Abu'l-Mahámid Maḥmúd ibn 'Umar **al-Jawharí** (the Jeweller) aṣ-Šá'igh (the Goldsmith) of Herát was contemporary with Farrukh-zád, Sulṭán of Ghazna (A.H. 444-451; A.D. 1052-9). A notice of him is given in 'Awfi's *Lubáb* (ii, 110-117).

The Dihqán '**Alí Shaṭranjí** of Samarqand, another poet of Transoxiana, is said by the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* to have been a pupil of the celebrated satirist Súzaní, who died, according to Taḳīyyu'd-Dín of Káshán, in A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173-4).

Manṣúr ibn 'Alí **al-Manṭiqí** of Ray, whose verses are repeatedly cited in evidence by Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát in his *Hadd'iqu's-Sihr*, was one of the poets attached to the Šáhib Isma'íl ibn 'Abbád (*Lubáb*, ii, 16-18).

Abú Zayd Muḥammad ibn 'Alí **al-Ghaḍá'irí** of Ray was a contemporary of 'Unṣurí and his circle, and died, according to the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, in A.H. 426 (A.D. 1034-5). His *nisba*, Ghaḍá'irí, is explained¹ as meaning "potter," "tile-maker," *ghaḍá'ir* being the plural of *ghaḍára*, a kind of sticky, greenish clay used for making pottery. The form Ghaḍá'irí (not Ghaḍá'í, as the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* has it) is proved cor-

¹ See the *Ansáb* of as-Sam'ání (Gibb Series, vol. xx), f. 409^b.

rect by verses of the poet himself and of his contemporary ʿUnsurī (see Persian notes, p. 153). Minúchihri, it is true, uses the form Ghadrī, but apparently only from the requirements of his metre.

Bundār of Ray, chiefly notable for his *Fahlawiyyāt*, or verses in dialect¹, was a contemporary of the Šāhib Ismaʿīl ibn ʿAbbād and of Majduʿd-Dawla-i-Daylamī, and therefore flourished between A.H. 387 and 420 (A.D. 997 and 1029).

Though all the MSS. have **Farrukhī of Gurgān** it seems probable that it should be **Fakhrī**, i.e. Fakhrūʿd-Dīn Asʿad of Gurgān, author of the well-known romantic poem on the loves of Wis and Rāmīn. The only well-known Farrukhī, to whom Anecdote XV is devoted, was from Sistān.

Abuʿl-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ismaʿīl **al-Lāmiʿī al-Jurjānī ad-Dihistānī** was one of the poets of Malikshāh the Saljūq and his celebrated Minister Niẓāmuʿl-Mulk, and was the contemporary of Burhānī, the father of Muʿizzī.

"Bābā" **Jaʿfar of Hamadān** was a friend of Bābā Ṭāhir, and contemporary with Sulṭān Ṭughril the Saljūq. See vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, p. 260.

The only other mention of **Dur-Fīrūz-i-Fakhrī** at present noticed occurs in al-Māfarrūkhi's "Beauties of Isfahān," composed in the fifth century of the *hijrā* (eleventh of the Christian era), where he is described as contemporary and is given the *kunya* of Abuʿl-Faḍl.

ʿAbduʿl-Malik **Burhānī** of Nishāpūr, entitled *Amīruʿsh-Shuʿarā*, who died at Qazwin early in the reign of Malikshāh; was the father of the more celebrated **Muʿizzī**, whose early struggles are described in Anecdote XVI and who was accidentally shot by Sulṭān Sanjar in A.H. 542 (A.D. 1147-8).

The Dih-Khudā **Abuʿl-Maʿālī of Ray** was the panegyrist of Masʿūd ibn Muḥammad ibn Malikshāh the Saljūq (reigned A.H. 527-547; A.D. 1133-1152), and died, according to the *Majmaʿuʿl-Fuṣṣah*, in A.H. 541 (A.D. 1146-7). See ʿAwfi's *Lubāb*, ii, 228-236.

The Amīr **ʿAmīd Kamāluʿd-Dīn** of Bukhārā, known as **Kamālī**, was skilled in music as well as poetry, and was one of the favourites of Sulṭān Sanjar. See ʿAwfi's *Lubāb*, i, 86-91.

By **Shihābī** Shihābuʿd-Dīn Aḥmad ibnuʿl-Muʿayyad an-Nasafī as-Samarqandī appears to be meant. The *Majmaʿuʿl-Fuṣṣah* quotes several of his *qasīdas* in praise of Ruknuʿd-Dīn Qīlij Ṭamghāj Khān Masʿūd, of the Khāniyya dynasty, who reigned from A.H. 488-494 (A.D. 1095-1101).

Abuʿl-Qāsim Ziyād ibn Muḥammad **al-Qamarī al-Jurjānī** was a contemporary of Shamsuʿl-Maʿālī Qābūs ibn Washmgīr, who was killed in A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012-1013). See ʿAwfi's *Lubāb*, ii, 19-20.

¹ See my edition of Dawlatshāh, pp. 42-3; *Majālisuʿl-Muʿminīn* (Tihān lith. ed., A.H. 1268); *Taʾrikh-i-Gusida* (Gibb Series, xiv, 1), p. 816; and the *Muʿjam* of Shams-i-Qays (Gibb Series, x), pp. 145 and 146.

The only other mention of **Ráfi'í of Níshápúr** occurs in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, from which it appears that he was a contemporary of Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna (A.H. 388-421; A.D. 998-1030).

XV. The Vengeance of Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn Jahán-súz.

(Text, p. 29; Persian notes, pp. 156-9.)

By "those two Kings, the Prince-martyr and the Laudable Monarch" are meant Quṭbu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn 'Izzu'd-Dín Ḥusayn *Maliku'l-Jibál* and his brother Sayfu'd-Dín Súrí, the brothers of Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn. Quṭbu'd-Dín, whose capital was Fírúz-kúh, had quarrelled with his brothers and gone to Ghazna, where Bahrámsáh at first treated him as an honoured guest, but subsequently, his suspicion being aroused by intriguers, poisoned him. Sayfu'd-Dín on hearing this marched on Ghazna with a large army. Bahrámsáh fled to India, and Sayfu'd-Dín occupied the city, took possession of the throne, and soon disbanded a great part of his army. On the approach of winter, when the roads to Ghúr were blocked with snow and the arrival of reinforcements was impossible, Bahrámsáh, at the instigation of his subjects, suddenly returned to Ghazna, took captive Sayfu'd-Dín and his followers, and put them to death in the year A.H. 544 (A.D. 1149-1150).

Sultán 'Alá'u'd-Dín Ḥusayn, furious at the loss of a second brother, sent a threatening quatrain¹ to the Chief Judge of Ghazna, and, assembling a large army from Ghúr and Gharjistán, marched on Ghazna and proceeded to make good his threats. Having thrice defeated Bahrámsáh and compelled him again to retire to India, he occupied Ghazna, and for seven days and nights gave it up to slaughter, pillage and destruction. He killed the men, took captive the women and children, and caused the bodies of all the Kings of Ghazna, except those of Sultán Maḥmúd, Mas'úd and Ibráhím, to be exhumed and burned. During the seven days of massacre and pillage he was drinking and making merry in the Royal Palace of Ghazna, and at the end of this period, when he put a stop to the slaughter, he ordered his minstrels to sing some rather fine and spirited verses which he had composed for the occasion². After spending another week in mourning for his brothers, he returned to Ghúr with their effects, destroying on his way all the fine buildings erected by Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. On reaching Fírúz-kúh he composed another fine but arrogant piece of poetry³ which he bade his minstrels sing. These events took place in A.H. 545 (A.D. 1150-1), the year of his accession to the throne, or in the following year. Two or three years later, in A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152-3), he was himself defeated and taken prisoner at Awba near Herát, by Sultán Sanjar the Saljúq, together with our author, who refers to this event in Anecdote XXXI.

The chief authority for the history of the Kings of Ghúr is the *Ṭabaqát-i-Nášírt* of the Qáđi Minháju'd-Dín 'Uthmán ibn Siráju'd-Dín Muḥammad, who was their contemporary (born 589/1193 and survived the year 658/1260). This valuable history has been published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series, but the late Major H. G. Raverty's English

¹ Persian notes, p. 157, ll. 7-8.

² *Ibid.*, p. 157, l. 18—p. 158, l. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 158, l. 11—p. 159, l. 2.

translation (2 vols. containing lxiv + 1296 + xxvi + 272 pp., London, 1881) is even more valuable, being based on a careful and extensive collation of fresh MSS., and furnished with numerous notes, critical, historical and geographical. The first six of the twenty-three sections comprised in the work are only given in brief epitome, but this is of little consequence, as they deal with matters which can be better studied in older Arabic histories.

XVI. Notes on Anecdote XIII.

(Text, pp. 31-4 ; Persian notes, p. 160.)

This anecdote about Rúdakí and his improvisation is very well known and occurs in nearly all the biographies of poets, but nowhere so fully as here. A very interesting point, to which I have elsewhere called attention¹, is the wide divergence of opinion as to the merit of the verses existing between the author of this work and Dawlatsháh, who lived some three centuries later, indicating a complete change in the canons of taste during this period, and, it must be admitted, a change for the worse. The late Dr Hermann Ethé's monograph, published in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* for 1873 (pp. 663-742), remains the best and fullest account of Rúdakí, concerning whom some further particulars have already been given (pp. 113-114 *supra*).

The true explanation of the name of the stream *Jú-yi-Múliyán* has been discovered by Mirzá Muḥammad in Narshakhi's *History of Bukhárá*. This work, originally composed in Arabic in A.H. 332 (A.D. 943-4), was translated into Persian first by Abú Naṣr-i-Qabáwí in A.H. 522 (A.D. 1128), and again by Muḥammad ibn Zufar in A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178-9). It is this second translation which was published at Paris in 1892 by the late M. Charles Schefer, and from which the information in question is derived. In a section entitled "Account of the *Jú-yi-Múliyán* and its qualities" the author writes as follows²:

"In old times these estates of the *Jú-yi-Múliyán* belonged to King Ṭughsháda, who gave a portion of them to each one of his sons and sons-in-law. Amír Isma'íl the Sámání (may God have mercy upon him!) bought these estates from Ḥasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Ṭálút, who was a captain of [the Caliph] al-Musta'in ibn al-Mu'tasim, and made palaces and gardens in the *Jú-yi-Múliyán*, most of which he conferred on the *Mawális*³, and which are still endowments. His heart was always pre-occupied about his *Mawális* (clients), until one day he was gazing from the fortifications of Bukhárá towards the *Jú-yi-Múliyán*. His father's client, Símá'u'l-Kabir, whom he greatly loved and held in high honour, was standing before him. Amír Isma'íl said, 'Will it ever be that God Most High will bring it to pass that I may buy these estates for you, and grant me life to see these estates yours, for they are of greater value than all the other estates of Bukhárá, and pleasanter and of better climate?' And God Most High vouchsafed to him to buy them all and give them to his *Mawális*, so that the place was named *Jú-yi-Mawáliyán*, which was commonly called *Jú-yi-Múliyán*."

¹ *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. i, pp. 16-17. See also my article on *The Sources of Dawlatsháh, etc.*, in the *J.R.A.S.* for January, 1899 (pp. 37-69).

² The original passage is quoted on p. 170 of the Persian notes.

³ *Mawálí* being itself the plural of *Mawlá* (a client), *Mawáliyán*, a Persian plural of an Arabic plural, appears to be a solecism.

XVII. Note on Anecdote XIV.

(Text, pp. 34-6 ; Persian notes, 161-2.)

'Alí ibn Qarib, known as "the Great Chamberlain" (*Hájib-i-Buzurg*) was one of the principal nobles of Sulṭán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. On the death of this monarch, he raised his younger son the Amír Abú Aḥmad Muḥammad to the throne. A quarrel shortly arose between him and his brother Sulṭán Mas'úd, who was then at Iṣfahán. The latter marched on Ghazna, and when he reached Herát 'Alí ibn Qarib deposed Abú Aḥmad Muḥammad and imprisoned him in the Castle of Kúhshír near Ghazna. On Dhul-Qa'da 3, A.H. 421 (Nov. 2, 1030) he waited at Herát on Sulṭán Mas'úd, who, however, seized him and his brother the Chamberlain Mankítarák and cast them both into prison, after which they were no more heard of.

XVIII. Note on the House of Muḥtáj of Chagháníyán.

(Text, p. 36 ; Persian notes, pp. 163-6.)

The noble and influential House of Muḥtáj, which had its home at Chagháníyán in Transoxiana, produced many notable men during the Sámání and Ghaznaví periods. Concerning some of the most famous of these Mírzá Muḥammad has collected from various sources the following particulars.

(1) Abú Bakr Muḥammad ibnu'l-Muzaffar ibn Muḥtáj was given the chief command of the armies of Khurásán by the Amír Naṣr II ibn Aḥmad the Sámání in A.H. 321 (A.D. 933), which position he held until the latter part of his life, when, being attacked by a chronic illness, he resigned in favour of his son Abú 'Alí Aḥmad, died in A.H. 329 (A.D. 941), and was buried at Chagháníyán.

(2) This son, Abú 'Alí Aḥmad, defeated and killed Mákán ibn Kákúy the Daylamí in A.H. 329 (A.D. 941), and it was on this occasion that the celebrated despatch of his secretary Abu'l-Qásim Iskáfí (alluded to in Anecdote III, pp. 16-18 *supra*) was penned. He extended the Sámánid authority over Jurján, Ṭabaristán, Zanján, and Kirmánsháh. In A.H. 333 (A.D. 944-5) the Amír Núḥ I ibn Naṣr II ibn Aḥmad dismissed him from the Government of Khurásán, whereupon he rebelled, deposed the Amír (who fled to Samarqand), overran Khurásán, and captured Bukhárá. Finally in A.H. 344 (A.D. 955-6) he fell a victim to the plague at Ray and was buried with his father at Chagháníyán.

(3) Abu'l-'Abbás Faḍl ibn Muḥammad, brother of the above, who appointed him in A.H. 333 (A.D. 944-5) Governor of the Jabal province (modern 'Iráq-i-'Ajam). He subdued Dínawar and Niháwand. When his brother rebelled against the Sámánids, as above mentioned, he supported them, in spite of which he incurred their suspicion in A.H. 336 (A.D. 947-8) and was imprisoned at Bukhárá, after which all future trace of him disappears.

(4) Abu'l-Muzaffar 'Abdu'lláh ibn Aḥmad, son of No. 2, who, in A.H. 337 (A.D. 948-9), when his father made peace with Amír Núḥ I the Sámánid, was sent as a hostage to Bukhárá, where he dwelt as an honoured guest until he was killed by a fall from his horse in A.H. 340 (951-2), and was buried at Chagháníyán.

(5) Abú Mansúr ibn Ahmad, another son of No. 2, who appointed him Governor of Chagháníyán in A.H. 340 (A.D. 951-2) when he himself was made Governor of Khurásán.

(6) Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ṭáhir ibn Faḍl, nephew of No. 2 and son of No. 3, was Governor of Chagháníyán until his death in A.H. 377 (A.D. 987-8). He was himself a poet and a generous patron of poets, Manjik of Tirmidh being one of his *protégés*. See 'Awfī's *Lubáb*, i, pp. 27-29.

(7) Fakhru'd-Dawla Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ahmad ibn Muḥammad, the person to whom reference is here made in the *Chahār Maqála*, is believed by Mírzá Muḥammad to have been a son or grandson of the above mentioned Abú 'Alī. Daqíqí preceded Farrukhī as his panegyrist, a fact to which the latter alludes in three verses not included in the portion of the *qaṣída* here quoted, but given on pp. 165-6 of the Persian notes.

Of Farrukhī's "admirable description of the poetic art" six verses, besides the one given in the text, are cited on p. 166 of the Persian notes. The editor's learned demonstration of the identity of *Khuttal* and *Khatlán*, of which place the former is the Arabic and the latter the Persian name, is mentioned in note 2 at the foot of p. 44 *supra*. The details of the proof must be sought in the Persian notes, pp. 166-8.

XIX. Note on Ṭughánsháh, and the arbitrary methods of some Persian editors.

(Text, p. 43; Persian notes, pp. 170-3.)

As pointed out in note 1 at the foot of p. 48 *supra*, this Ṭughánsháh the son of Alp Arslán the Saljúq is a totally different person from the Ṭughánsháh ibn Mu'ayyad Áy-Ába with whom the author of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá* and others have rashly identified him, regardless of the fact that Azraqí (as shewn by three conclusive proofs on p. 173 of the Persian notes) must have been dead long before the latter ascended the throne in A.H. 569 (A.D. 1173-4). The curious thing about the first Ṭughánsháh (the Saljúq, to whom reference is here made) is that he is not mentioned by any of the historians of this period¹ except our author Nizámí of Samarqand in this passage and in 'Awfī's *Lubáb* (ii, 87-8), and nearly all that we know about him is derived from Azraqí's poems in his honour. The author of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahá*, starting from the misconception to which allusion has been made, has deliberately and arbitrarily falsified the text of Azraqí's poems to make it support his erroneous theory, and has changed (vol. i, p. 145) "Ṭughánshah ibn Muḥammad" into "Ṭughánshah ibn Mu'ayyad." On these reprehensible methods Mírzá Muḥammad justly remarks (pp. 172-3 of the Persian notes *ad calc.*):—

"Such arbitrary emendations are not only an encouragement to ignorance, but a betrayal of the trust committed to us by men of yore. For it is evident that their books, compositions, writings and harangues are a precious heritage which our forefathers have bequeathed to us

¹ Dawlatsháh, Hájji Khalífa and the *Haft Iqlím* do, indeed, speak of an older Ṭughánsháh praised by Azraqí, but all the statements they make about him are incorrect. See the Persian notes, p. 173, second paragraph.

in trust, and which we in turn should transmit to our descendants untampered with and unaltered. For should it once be allowed that from the time of Firdawsí until now, a period of nearly a thousand years, everyone should emend the verses of the *Sháh-náma* in accordance with his own whims and fancies, no trace or sign would now remain of this Royal Treasure, this Mine of Jewels and Coral, which constitutes the greatest literary glory of Persia, and is the guarantee of the perpetuation of our national tongue.

"I actually heard a certain Persian scholar in Paris say: 'My late father, besides having no rival in all sciences and accomplishments, possessed a special talent wherein no one could equal him. This was that any manuscript work of an ancient writer, from the beginning, end or middle of which some leaves had been lost, used to be given to my father, who, in the course of one or two nights, would supply the missing portion with a composition of his own in the same style and cast as the rest of the book, and would add it to the original; and it so closely resembled the other chapters and sections of the book that no scholar or savant could decide whether these leaves formed part of the original book or were an addition to it.'

"May God guide us into the Way of Rectitude!"

Note XX. Azraqí (Anecdote XVII).

(Text, p. 43; Persian notes, pp. 174-178.)

Abú Bakr Zaynu'd-Dín ibn Isma'íl al-Wárráq ("the book-seller") of Herát, poetically surnamed Azraqí, would appear from a verse in one of his poems (p. 174 of the Persian notes) to have borne the proper name of Ja'far. His father Isma'íl was the contemporary of Firdawsí, who, when he fled from Sultán Maḥmúd's wrath, was for six months in hiding in his house at Herát.

Most of Azraqí's panegyrics are in praise of two Saljúq princes, Tughánsháh ibn Alp Arslán, mentioned in the last note, and Amíránsháh ibn Qáwurd. This Qáwurd was the first of the Saljúq rulers of Kirmán, but, as his son Amíránsháh did not ascend the throne, the date of his death is not recorded, though he predeceased his brother Sultánsháh, who died A.H. 476 (A.D. 1083-4).

Taqiyyu'd-Dín of Káshán gives A.H. 527 (A.D. 1132-3) as the date of Azraqí's death, which, however, must have taken place at least forty years earlier. For in the first place 'Awfí says that "he was antecedent to Mu'izzí," and secondly he makes no mention in his poems of Maliksháh or Sanjar or their nobles and ministers, which omission would be almost inconceivable if he lived in their time. Thirdly, Azraqí's father was the contemporary of Firdawsí, who died sometime before A.H. 421 (A.D. 1030), and it is evidently extremely improbable that he could have had a son who was still living a century later. It is probable that Azraqí died before A.H. 465 (A.D. 1072-3).

Rashídu'd-Dín Waṭwát in his *Haddíq'u's-Sihr* ("Gardens of Magic") criticizes Azraqí for his far-fetched and fantastic comparisons, and especially comparisons to non-existent things, so that, for example, he compares burning charcoal to a sea of musk with golden waves.

Hájji Khalífa and many of the biographers ascribe to Azraqí the *Sindibád-náma* and the *Alfiyya wa Shalfiyya*. This is an error, for the former of these two books was of Persian or Indian origin, and was composed in pre-Islamic days, as clearly appears from the statements of Mas'údí in the *Murúju'dh-Dhabab*¹ and of the *Fihrist*². Of this *Sindibád-náma* the Pahlawí text was extant in the time of the Amír Núh II ibn Mansúr the Sámánid (A.H. 366-387; A.D. 976-997), by whose command it was translated into Persian by Khwája 'Amíd Abu'l-Fawáris-i-Qanáwazí, whose translation, however, appears to be entirely lost. This translation was, however, revised and re-edited in a more ornate form about A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203-4) by Bahá'u'd-Din Muḥammad... az-Zahírí of Samarqand, who was secretary to Sultán Tamgháj Khán of the Kháníyya dynasty of Transoxiana. Of this recension one manuscript exists in the British Museum, from the preface of which Mírzá Muḥammad derived the information here given. It was apparently the older Persian prose translation of Qanáwazí which Azraqí versified or intended to versify; a task which he evidently found far from easy, for in a passage of a *qaṣida* addressed to Ṭughánsháh (quoted on p. 177 of the Persian notes) he says:—

“O Prince, whoever regards the counsels of Sindibád
Knows well that to compose poetry thereon is difficult:
I will render its ideas a help to learning
If thy fortune, O King, helps my mind.”

This versified translation of Azraqí, if ever completed, seems to have been entirely lost, though a later anonymous verse translation composed in A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374-5) is preserved in the India Office Library³. This, however, in Mírzá Muḥammad's opinion, is of very poor literary quality.

The *Alfiyya wa Shalfiyya* is another ancient book which existed long before Azraqí's time. The *Fihrist* mentions two recensions, a greater and a lesser; and the *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaqí*⁴ mentions a summer-house which 'Prince Mas'úd had built for himself secretly in the Bágh-i-'Adnání on the walls of which were painted the pictures illustrative of the *Alfiyya*. This book may have been versified or re-edited by Azraqí, but was certainly not his original work.

NOTE XXI. Another instance of the Author's inaccuracy.

(Text, p. 45; Persian notes, pp. 182-4.)

It is an extraordinary and inexplicable thing that Nizámí of Samarqand, in recounting what professes to be a personal reminiscence, should commit several grave historical and chronological errors. First, the real name and genealogy of Qutulmush were Shihábu'd-Dawla [not -Dín] ibn Isrá'il ibn Saljúq, and he was first cousin to Ṭughril, the first of the Great Saljúqs, and father of Sulaymán, the first of the Saljúqs of Rúm. In A.H. 456 (A.D. 1064) he rebelled against Ṭughril's nephew Alp Arslán and was killed in battle near Ray. Sultán Muḥammad, the grandson of Alp Arslán, was born in A.H. 473 (A.D. 1080-1), seventeen years after

¹ Ed. B. de Meynard, i, 162 and iv, 90.

³ See Dr H. Ethé's *Catalogue*, No. 1236.

² Ed. Flügel, pp. 304-5.

⁴ Tíhrán ed., p. 116.

the death of Qutulmush, who therefore obviously could not have rebelled against him. *Secondly*, Qutulmush was not the son-in-law of Sulṭān Muḥammad, but the first cousin of his great-grandfather. *Thirdly*, the title of Qutulmush was Shihābu'd-Dawla, not Shihābu'd-Dīn. *Fourthly*, he did not bear the name Alp Ghāzī. *Fifthly*, the battle in which he was killed was near Ray, not Hamadān; and *sixthly*, it took place nearly a century before Nizāmī of Samarqand wrote the *Chahār Maqāla*.

We are driven to suppose that in this passage the original text has been tampered with. The real Alp Ghāzī was the nephew of Sulṭān Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad of Ghūr, and fell in battle with Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh near Herāt in A.H. 600 (A.D. 1203-4), fifty years after the *Chahār Maqāla* was written. There were two kings called Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, the one of Ghūr, mentioned immediately above, who died in A.H. 599 (A.D. 1202-3) and was actually related to the real Alp Ghāzī; and the other the grandson of Alp Arslān the Saljūq, to whom this anecdote refers, and who died in A.H. 511 (A.D. 1117-8).

Note XXII. The Khāqānī, Khānī or Afrāsiyābī Kings.

(Text, p. 46; Persian notes, pp. 184-189.)

This Turkish Muslim dynasty, also called Īlak-Khānī, ruled for nearly 230 years (A.H. 380-609 = A.D. 990-1212) over Transoxiana, supplanting the Sāmānid and succumbing to the Khwārazmshāhī power. They were sometimes practically independent, while at other times they paid tribute to the Saljūqs, Qarā-Khitā'īs or Khwārazmshāhs. Their history is confused and obscure, nor is it precisely known when their power arose or when they embraced Islām. Hārūn ibn Sulaymān, better known as Bughrā Khān Īlak, and entitled Shihābu'd-Dawla, conquered Bukhārā in A.H. 383 (A.D. 993), and is the first of the dynasty mentioned in history. His lieutenant Shamsu'd-Dawla Naṣr ibn 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Sutuq, better known as Īlak Khān, again subdued Bukhārā in A.H. 389 (A.D. 999) and finally extinguished the Sāmānid power in Transoxiana. The last of the line was Nuṣratu'd-Dīn Qilij Arslān Khāqān 'Uthmān ibn Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān Ibrāhīm, who was killed in A.H. 609 (A.D. 1212-3) by Sulṭān 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh.

The first historian of this dynasty appears to have been the Imām Sharafu'z-Zamān Majdu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn 'Adnān as-Surkhakatī, uncle of Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad 'Awfī, the author of the often-quoted *Lubābu'l-Albāb* and of the vast collection of anecdotes entitled *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt wa Lawāmi'u'r-Riwayāt*. This history, dedicated to Sulṭān Qilij Ṭamghāj Khān, the last ruler but one of the dynasty, is mentioned by Hājji Khalifa, and 'Awfī quotes from it in the seventeenth chapter of the fourth part of his *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt*, composed about A.H. 630 (A.D. 1232-3). Except for this quotation (of which the text is cited on pp. 185-6 of the Persian notes) this work appears to be entirely lost. The chief extant sources of information about them are as follows:—

(1) Scattered references in such Arabic general histories as Ibnu'l-Athīr and Ibn Khaldūn.

(2) The *Ta'rikh-i-Jahán-ará* of the Qāḍī Aḥmad-i-Ghaffārī has a short chapter on this dynasty¹, which, though it adds little to the particulars given by the above-mentioned historians, has the advantage of gathering the details under one head and giving them a connected arrangement.

(3) A rare general history in Persian, of unknown authorship, entitled *Majma'u'l-Tawárikh*², contains a chapter of seven large pages on this dynasty, here called "the House of Afrásiyáb."

(4) A long note by Major H. G. Raverty on pp. 900-911 of his English translation of the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násiri* (vol. ii, London, 1881).

(5) An article by Sir Henry Howorth on the *Afrásiyábi Turks* in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1898, pp. 467-502. For this excellent article he obtained new materials from a Turkí MS. from Eastern Turkistán entitled *Tadhkira-i-Bughrá Khán*.

(6) Scattered references in such special histories as 'Utbi's *Ta'rikh-i-Yamini*, the *Ta'rikh-i-Bayhaqi*, Narshakhi's *Ta'rikh-i-Bukhárá*, 'Imádu'd-Dín's and Abú Bakr ar-Ráwandi's histories of the Saljúqs, the *Ta'rikh-i-Jahángusháy* of Juwayni, 'Awfi's *Lubábu'l-Albáb* and *Jawámi'u'l-Hikáyát*, the *Ṭabaqát-i-Násiri*, and this book, *etc.*, the history of this dynasty being intermixed to some extent with that of the Ghaznawis, Saljúqs and Khwárazmsháhs.

(7) The verses of certain contemporary poets who were their panegyrists, such as Rashídi and Súzaní of Samarqand, Mukhtárfi of Ghazna, Raḍiyyu'd-Dín of Nishápúr, 'Am'áq of Bukhárá, Shams-i-Ṭabasí, *etc.*

In none of these books, however, except 'Awfi's *Lubáb*, is mention made of Qilij Ṭamgháj Khán Ibráhím, the last ruler but one of the dynasty. He was a great patron of poetry and learning. Raḍiyyu'd-Dín, the poet just mentioned, has especially celebrated his generosity to men of letters, and several notable prose works were dedicated to him, amongst others the *Sindibád-náma*³ and the *A'rádu'r-Riyásat fi Aghraḍi's-Siyásat*⁴ of Bahá'u'd-Dín az-Zahíri of Samarqand, and another work by the same author entitled *Sam'u'z-Zahír fi Jam'i'z-Zahír*⁵.

Note XXIII. Five notable Astronomers.

(Text, pp. 54-5; Persian notes, pp. 193-206.)

Abú Rayḥán Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bírúní (or *Bêrúní* or *Bayrúní*⁶) was born in a suburb or outer district (*bírún*) of Khwárazm

¹ Or. 141 of the British Museum, ff. 132^a-134^b.

² Suppl. Persan 1331 in the Bibl. Nationale of Paris, ff. 132^b-136^a.

³ See p. 125 *supra*.

⁴ See Hájji Khalífa, *s.v.*, and 'Awfi's *Lubáb*, i, 91. There is a MS. of the work in the Leyden Library.

⁵ See *H. Kh.*, *s.v.*, and the *Lubáb*, i, 91.

⁶ Sachau quotes the *Ansdáb* of as-Sam'ání in favour of this latter pronunciation, but in the *facsimile* of this work published by the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" (vol. xx, f. 98^b) the passage in question has *bí'l-kasri* (with the *i* vowel) instead of *bí'l-fathi* (with the *a* vowel).

(Khiva)¹ on Dhu'l-Hijja 3, A.H. 362 (Sept. 4, A.D. 973), and died (probably at Ghazna) on Rajab 2, A.H. 440 (Dec. 11, A.D. 1048) at the age of 77 lunar years and 7 months. He was one of the greatest men of science produced by Persia, and in him, as Dr Sachau says, "there is much of the modern spirit and method of critical research," in which respect "he is a phenomenon in the history of Eastern learning and literature." As a writer his industry equalled his learning. In A.H. 427 (A.D. 1035-6), when he had reached the age of 65 lunar (63 solar) years, he drew up for a correspondent a list of his writings, which has been fortunately preserved to us, and of which the original Arabic text is included by Sachau in the German Introduction to his edition of *al-Āthārū'l-Bāqīya* (pp. xxxviii-xlix). This list comprises over a hundred works, arranged in 13 classes as follows:—

I. Geometry, Astronomy, etc.	...	18	works
II. Geography	...	15	"
III. Arithmetic	...	8	"
IV. Light	...	4	"
V. The Astrolabe	...	5	"
VI. Times and Seasons	...	5	"
VII. Comets	...	5	"
VIII. Stations of the Moon	...	12	"
IX. Astrology	...	7	"
X. Persian and other tales	...	13	"
XI. Religion	...	6	"
XII. Books of which the author retained no copy	...	5	"
XIII. Unfinished books	...	10	"
Total:			113

He also enumerates 25 other works written by three other men of learning and ascribed to him, *viz.* 12 by Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn 'Alī ibn 'Arrāq; 12 by Abū Sahl 'Isā ibn Yaḥyā al-Masīhī; and one by Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Jīlī. Further, Ḥājjī Khalīfa enumerates 15 more of al-Bīrūnī's works not appearing in the above list, though some of them are no doubt included in it under slightly different titles, while others are probably wrongly ascribed to our author. In Europe he is chiefly known by his "Chronology of Ancient Nations" (*al-Āthārū'l-Bāqīya 'anī'l-Qurūnī'l-Khālīya*) and his work on India, editions and translations of both of which we owe to the learning and industry of Dr Edward Sachau. The former, unfortunately, presents many serious *lacunae*: "Many most essential parts," says Dr Sachau², "both large and small, are missing, *e.g.* the chapter on Zoroaster, a most deplorable loss, arising probably from Muslim bigotry." On Nov. 12, 1912, however, I received a letter from my colleague Professor Bevan in which he wrote:—"I have just received from Salemann in St Petersburg an article which he has

¹ Mīrzā Muḥammad points out to me that the original capital city of Khwārazm was Kāth on the eastern bank of the Oxus. Later (and probably already in al-Bīrūnī's time) its place was taken by Ūrgānj or Gurgānj (called in Arabic Jurjāniyya) on the western bank. The modern city of Khiva is situated some distance to the south-west of the older Ūrgānj.

² Preface to the English translation, p. xiii.

published in the *Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale*. You will be glad to hear that another MS. of al-Bīrūnī's *al-Āthārū'l-Bāqīya* has turned up and enables us to supply most of the gaps in Sachau's edition, in particular the sections on Zoroaster and Bardaisān."

Al-Qiftī has no article on al-Bīrūnī in his "History of the Philosophers," and only once refers to him. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a gives him a short notice in his "Lives of the Physicians" (ii, pp. 20-21). The short articles consecrated to him by Ṣāḥirū'd-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan ibn Abū'l-Qāsim (wrote about the middle of the twelfth century of our era) and by Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd ash-Shahrāzūrī (early thirteenth century) are quoted in full by Sachau¹. There is also a long notice of him in the modern Persian *Nāma-i-Dānishwarān* (vol. i, pp. 37-49) composed in A.H. 1294 (A.D. 1877), which is of little authority and does not add much to our knowledge.

Abū Ma'shar Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar al-Balkhī was one of the most celebrated astronomers of the third century of the *hijra* (ninth of the Christian era), and, according to al-Qiftī², the greatest authority on the history of the ancient Persians. He dwelt in Baghdād, in the western part, and was originally a traditionist; and his fanaticism led him to insult and molest Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī, the "Philosopher of the Arabs," and to stir up the common people against him. Finally al-Kindī induced some of his friends to draw his attention to, and arouse his interest in Mathematics and Geometry, so that he came to seek instruction from al-Kindī, and was reconciled with him. He soon passed on (at the age of forty-seven) to the study of Astronomy. On one occasion he was scourged by command of the Caliph al-Musta'in (reigned A.H. 248-251; A.D. 862-5) because of a prognostication which he had made and which proved too correct. Thenceforth he used to say: "I guessed right and was punished." He died on Ramaḍān 28, A.H. 272 (March 8, A.D. 886). Al-Qiftī enumerates 38 of his works, of which such as are still extant are enumerated by Brockelmann (i, 221-2).

Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Abdu'l-Jalīl as-Sajzī was a notable mathematician and astronomer of the fourth century of the *hijra*. Amongst his numerous works is the *Jāmi'-i-Shāhī*, or "Royal Compendium," containing 15 treatises on astronomical subjects; of which there is a fine MS. in the British Museum³. In the course of this work, written at Shīrāz, where he apparently spent most of his life, he refers to the years A.H. 351 (A.D. 962) and A.H. 380 (A.D. 990). The Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris possesses a beautiful MS.⁴, containing 41 mathematical and astronomical tracts, transcribed by him in Shīrāz during the years A.H. 358-361 (A.D. 969-972). The colophons of such of these tracts as have them are given by Mīrzā Muḥammad on pp. 200-201 of the Persian notes. Including the 15 tracts comprised in the *Jāmi'-i-Shāhī*, 29 of his treatises are extant in European libraries⁵, besides the *Ṣad Bāb* mentioned in the text, and a dissertation on the Astrolabe.

¹ German Introduction to the text, pp. lii and liii.

² *Ta'rikhu'l-Ḥukamā*, ed. Lippert, p. 152.

³ See Rieu's *Arabic Suppl.*, pp. 528-530.

⁴ Fonds Arabe 2457.

⁵ See Brockelmann, i, 219.

Kiyá Abu'l-Ḥasan Kúshyár ibn Labbán ibn Bá-shahrí al-Jilání (of Gilán) was a notable astronomer who flourished in the latter part of the fourth century of the *hijra*. In his *Mujmalu'l-Uşûl*¹ he alludes to the year 321 of Yazdijird (A.H. 342 = A.D. 953-4), and in another passage of the same work² to A.V. 361 (A.H. 383 = A.D. 993-4), so that his active life appears to have lain between these two limits, and the date given by Hájji Khalífa (A.H. 459 = A.D. 1066-7) under *Zij-i Kúshyár* is certainly too late. See also Brockelmann, i, 222-3.

Abú Yúsuf Ya'qúb ibn Isháq . . al-Kindí, entitled "the Philosopher of the Arabs," traced his descent from Ma'di-Karib, and belonged to an Arabian family equally notable for ancient and noble lineage and honourable achievements. How our author can have represented him as a Jew is incomprehensible. The story about him and Abú Ma'shar, however, derives some confirmation from the *Fihrist*³. He composed some 270 works on Logic, Philosophy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Music, Astrology and Medicine, of which about a score are extant in European libraries⁴. The date of his death is not known, but he flourished in the reigns of al-Ma'mún and al-Mutawakkil (A.H. 198-247; A.D. 813-861). It is not clear on what authority Dr Heinrich Suter⁵ gives A.H. 260 (A.D. 873-4) as the date of his death. He was noted for his parsimony, and a good many pages are devoted to him in the "Book of Misers" (*Kitábu'l-Bukhald*) of al-Jáhib⁶. A number of his sayings in praise of this unattractive quality are quoted on p. 206 of the Persian notes from Ibn Abí Uşaybi'a's "Lives of the Physicians" (vol. i, pp. 208-9).

Note XXIV. Certain astrological terms.

(Text, pp. 56, 59 and 62; Persian notes, pp. 206-8.)

In these anecdotes about astrologers and their predictions there occur a few technical terms which can be properly understood only by those (few in these days) who have made Astrology the special object of their studies. Amongst such is Mr Ralph Shirley, editor of the *Occult Review*, who has most kindly supplied me with the valuable notes which I have placed after the explanations derived from Arabic and Persian works.

1. *Khaby* and *Damir* (خَبَى و دَمِير).

The explanation of these terms, which I have translated by "divination and thought-reading," is given by Abú Rayhán al-Birúni in a passage of his *Taḥfím*, quoted by Mírzá Muḥammad in the Persian notes (pp. 206-7), of which the translation is as follows:—

¹ Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 7490, f. 22^b.

² *Ibid.*, f. 4^a. For a description of this fine MS. see Rieu's *Arabic Supplement*, pp. 513-9.

³ Ed. Flügel, p. 277.

⁴ See Flügel's *Al-Kindí genannt der Philosoph der Araber*, in the *Abhandlung f. die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. i, part 2 (Leipzig, 1857); the long notice in al-Qifti's *Ta'rikhu'l-Hukamá*, pp. 366-378; and Brockelmann, i, 209-210.

⁵ In his *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke* (Leipzig, 1900).

⁶ Cairo ed. of 1323/1905-6, pp. 64-76.

"Q. 'What are *khaby* and *damir*?'"

"A. '*Khaby* is that which is hidden in the fist; and *damir* is that one should think of something and [that the operator should] find it out by questioning.'

"Herein are astrologers speedily put to shame, and their mistakes are more frequent than their successes."

2. *Sahmu's-Sa'adat* and *Sahmu'l-Ghayb* (سهر السعادة و سهر الغيب).

A full explanation of these terms, which I have translated "Part of Fortune" and "Part of the Unseen," is given in vol. i of the *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmáns*¹, pp. 698-9. After defining the pronunciation and ordinary meaning ("arrow") of *sahm*, and its special sense in Geomancy and Geometry, the article proceeds:—

"With astronomers the term *sahm* means a definite portion of the zodiacal heaven. According to them, these 'Parts' (*sahm-há*) are many, e.g. the 'Part of Fortune' (or 'Happiness': *Sahmu's-Sa'adat*), also called by them the 'Part of the Moon'; and the 'Part of the Unseen' (*Sahmu'l-Ghayb*), the 'Part of Days' (*Sahmu'l-Ayyám*), the 'Part of Men-servants and Maid-servants' (*Sahm-i-Ghulamán wa Kanizakán*), and so forth. So by day they compute the 'Part of Happiness' from the Sun to the degree of the Moon, and add to it (that is to the degrees between the Sun and the Moon) the degree of the Ascendant. Then from the Ascendant's total they subtract thirty each [for the Sign of the Ascendant and the adjoining Sign], and what remains will be the degree of the position of the 'Part of Happiness.' And by night they compute from the degree of the Moon to the degree of the Sun, and add thereto the degree of the Ascendant.

"*Example.* Ascendant 10° in Aries; the Sun 20° in Leo; the Moon 15° in Libra, leaving 40° [from the position of the Sun in Leo] to [the beginning of] Libra. [To this] we add the 15° [already] traversed by the Moon [in Libra], which gives us 55°. To this we add the degree of the Ascendant, which gives us 65°. Of these we give 30° to Aries and 30° to Taurus, and the 5° remaining to Gemini. So the place of the 'Part of Happiness' will be the fifth degree of Gemini."

	Pisces	Aries	
	Aquarius		Taurus
Capricorn			Gemini
Sagittarius			Cancer
Scorpio		Leo	
	Libra	Virgo	

"As for the 'Part of the Unseen,' by day they compute it from the Moon and by night from the Sun, adding thereto the degree of the Ascendant, and subtracting thirty each from the Ascendant, as before; then what remains over is the place of the 'Part of the Unseen.'"

Then follow directions on similar lines for calculating the other 'Parts,' viz. the 'Part of Days' (*Sahmu'l-Ayyám*), the 'Part of Men-servants

¹ Published in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, Calcutta, 1862.

and Maid-servants,' the 'Part of Wealth and Friends' (*Sahm-i-Mâl u Aşdiqâ*), the 'Marriage of Women' (*Tazwij-i-Zandn*), and the 'Parts' of the Five Planets, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury and Venus.

3. *Kad-khuddâ* and *Haylâj* (كدخدا و هيلاج).

These terms are applied in Astrology to two indications of the length of life of the child. According to Abû Rayhân al-Bîrûnî¹, "the *Haylâj* is one of five things: *first*, the Master of the day- or night-shift (*Şahib-i-Nawbat-i-rûz yâ shab*); *secondly*, the Moon by day and the Sun by night; *thirdly*, the Degree of the Ascendant; *fourthly*, the 'Part of Fortune'; *fifthly*, the House of the Conjunction or Opposition which shall have taken place before birth. One of these five things they call the *Haylâj* when it is conjoined with its own proper conditions described in books on Astrology, and the sum total they call *Hayâlîj* or *Haylâjat*.

"The *Kad-khuddâ* ('Master of the House') is the star which dominates the place of the *Haylâj* in this sense, that it is the Lord of the Mansion wherein the *Haylâj* is actually situated, or the Lord of its exaltation (*Şahib-i-Sharaf*), or the Lord of some other of its Parts which stand in relation to that position.

"If the *Haylâj* be one which has no *Kad-khuddâ*, then they leave it out and seek another of the five *Hayâlîj* which has one; and if none of them has a *Kad-khuddâ*, then the quality of being a *Haylâj* belongs to the Degree of the Ascendant.

"*Example of the Haylâj and Kad-khuddâ.* If at the time of the birth of the child (by day) the Moon be in 19° of Aries, then the Moon will be one of the five *Hayâlîj* (subject to the concurrence of the other proper conditions which are set forth in books of Astrology). Then, in this hypothetical example, the *Kad-khuddâ* will be the Sun, for the Sun dominates the place of the *Haylâj*, that is to say is the Lord of its altitude, for the exaltation (*sharaf*) of the Sun is in 19° of Aries. And if, in this hypothetical example, the degree of the Ascendant is in 19° of Aries, this degree of the Ascendant will be the *Haylâj*, and again the Sun will be the *Kad-khuddâ*, and so on.

"So from the admixture and combination of the sum-total of the *Haylâj* and the *Kad-khuddâ*, they deduce (as they imagine) the duration of the child's life, its length or brevity, and its happiness or infelicity.

"The derivation of the word *Haylâj* is unknown²."

Mr Ralph Shirley's observations are contained in three letters, dated May 22, May 31 and October 25, 1920, the first addressed to Professor Margoliouth, to whom my enquiries were originally addressed, the others to myself, the last one after reading the proofs containing the anecdotes to which this note refers.

¹ These particulars were derived by Mirzá Muḥammad from the British Museum MS. of the *Taḥḥim*, Add. 7697, ff. 146^a and 154^a, and from Kushyâr's *Mujmalu'l-Uşûl*, Add. 7490, ff. 28-9.

² It is said to be from the Greek ὑλικός; see Sédillot's *Prolegomena*, p. 149 of the text. See also Schefer's *Chrestomathie Persane*, vol. i, p. 102 *ad calc.*

(*Extracts from first letter.*)

"The hyleg (*haylāj*) in astrology is the vital point, or 'giver of life.' This is considered to be either the sun, or the moon, or the ascendant. In order to be hyleg, the sun or moon must occupy either the 9th, 10th, or 11th houses, or else the ascendant or 7th house. If, *e.g.*, the sun occupies one of these positions and the moon does not, then the sun is hyleg or life-giver. If, on the other hand, they both occupy such a position, then the one that is most predominant or most elevated, would be hyleg, *i.e.*, if the sun occupied the 10th house and the moon the 11th, the sun would be hyleg, and *vice versa*. If neither sun nor moon occupy any of these positions, it is usual to take the ascending degree as hyleg, but some of the old astrologers would regard the dominant planet as hyleg under such circumstances. It must not be supposed from this that when the sun is hyleg the moon has therefore no influence on the constitution. The moon in any case has to do with the digestion and various matters of this kind, and the sun is in any case the ruler of the heart and therefore always important. The sun, however, might be violently afflicted though the health might not be seriously endangered, if it did not occupy the position of hyleg. The same would apply to the moon. I think, other things being equal, the moon is to be regarded as having more influence with a woman and the sun with a man. Alcohoden is merely another name for hyleg, but is not used nowadays.

"As regards the other words, I have never heard of them. I have however little doubt that the last, *sahmu's-sa'adat*, is the Arabic term for the 'Part of Fortune.' Some old astrologers attached a good deal of importance to this, without, I imagine, much justification. The 'Part of Fortune' is that part of the horoscope where the moon would be if the sun were exactly rising. The 'Part of Fortune' was supposed to refer to the wealth and property of the 'native.' Ptolemy laid great stress on it, but the author of the Text-book of Astrology remarks that 'it must be rejected from a rational system of genethliology.'

"'Part of Mystery' (*sahmu'l-ghayb*) conveys no meaning, and I do not think anything can be found corresponding to this in the astrological books at present available. The only suggestion I can make is that it might conceivably be the opposite point in the horoscope to the 'Part of Fortune.' But this is pure conjecture and may be entirely on the wrong track. It looks as if the Arabs had some tradition here which does not find its place in any astrological books extant."

(*Extract from second letter.*)

"Thank you for yours of the 29th May. I think it might be a help if you sent me a copy of the book in question. I have, however, read so much on the subject of astrology that I question whether there is any likelihood of my being able to throw light on the 'Part of the Unseen.' I cannot think there is any reference to it in any known author on the subject. Astrologers of the present day look upon Neptune as the planet that gives psychic powers, and this is unquestionably correct. In the case of people who have clairvoyant gifts, *etc.*, or are mediumistic

in temperament, one constantly finds Neptune and the Moon predominant in the horoscope. But it is of course impossible to suppose that the Arabian astrologers had any clue to the planet Neptune. The 'Part of Fortune' is merely the translation of the Latin *Pars Fortunae*. I cannot account for the origin of the idea, which seems quite fantastic....

"The Ascendant is the degree rising at birth; *i.e.*, at sunrise the sun would be on the ascendant. The 'Lord of the Ascendant' is the planet that rules the ascending sign of the Zodiac. The two most important positions in the horoscope are the ascendant and the mid-heaven, and any planets here are considered more powerful than any others. The Ascendant has special relation to the individual, and the mid-heaven to the fortune."

(*Extract from third letter.*)

"I am sorry to have kept your proofs so long, but I have been a good deal away from the office lately, and consequently my work has got into arrears.

"With regard to the 'Part of the Unseen,' this is evidently something kindred in nature to the 'Part of Fortune,' and as the Part of Fortune (*pars fortunae*) is always so called by astrologers, I think it would be well to use the expression 'Part' and not 'Share.' I have not yet discovered what the 'Part of the Unseen' actually is. It obviously cannot be the opposite position to that of the 'Part of Fortune,' as I see that in one instance cited in your proofs the two are in conjunction on the Ascendant."

Note XXV. 'Umar-i-Khayyám.

(Text, pp. 63-4, 65; Persian notes, pp. 209-228.)

Abu'l-Fath 'Umar ibn Ibráhím al-Khayyámí, commonly called 'Umar (or 'Omar) Khayyám, is so much more celebrated in the West, especially in England and America, than in the East that Mirzá Muḥammad has, for the benefit of his own countrymen, for whom he is primarily writing, added a very long note on his biography, the sources of our information about him, and the history of the "Omar Khayyám Club" founded in London in his honour in 1892. The information contained in this note is mainly derived from Professor Valentin Zhukovski's masterly article on the "Wandering Quatrains" or 'Umar-i-Khayyám, which appeared in the *Festschrift* published in 1897 at St Petersburg in honour of the late Baron Victor Rosen, by eleven of his pupils, and entitled, in allusion to his Christian name, *al-Muzaffariyya*. This article, written in Russian, was translated by Sir E. Denison Ross and published in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1898 (vol. xxx, pp. 349-366), and reproduced in its essentials by him in Methuen's edition of FitzGerald's *Quatrains*, and by me in vol. ii of my *Literary History of Persia*, pp. 246-9. It is therefore sufficient to summarize here the information which can be found in greater detail in those places.

Persian and Arabic Sources of Information arranged chronologically.

1. The Chahár Maqála.

This present work, the author of which was personally acquainted with 'Umar, and wrote only some thirty years after his death, contains the oldest account of him yet discovered.

2. The Kharídatu'l-Qaṣr.

(*Addition to Persian notes*, p. ۳۰۹)

This book, composed by 'Imádu'd-Dín al-Kátib al-Iṣfahání in 572/1176-7, contains a notice of 'Umar-i-Khayyám amongst the poets of Khurásán. Two MSS. of this work exist in the Leyden library (see Dozy's *Catalogue*, vol. ii, pp. 208-288), viz. Warner 348, f. 185, and GoI. 21b, f. 238.

3. Kháqání.

A single reference to him occurs in a verse of the Persian poet Kháqání, who died about A.H. 595 (A.D. 1198-9).

4. The Mirṣádu'l-'Ibáḍ.

The *Mirṣádu'l-'Ibáḍ* of Shaykh Najmu'd-Dín Dáya, composed in A.H. 620 (A.D. 1223-4), contains a passage in which 'Umar is denounced as an atheist, and two of his quatrains are cited with disapproval. The text of this important passage is quoted by Mírzá Muḥammad (Persian notes, p. 211) from Zhukovski's article. I have collated this with a fine old MS. of the *Mirṣád* transcribed in A.H. 768 (A.D. 1367), which presents the following variants, generally improvements.

211, 1, inserts *گردد* after *معلوم*; reads *نورانی را* for *روحانی را*; inserts *قالب* after *صورت*; and reads *خاك* for *خاکی*. 211, 5, inserts *و* before *بمرتبه*; l. 6 after *نهد* substitutes for *وآن* at the end of the line the following words:—

تا آنج در نظر آورد در قدم آورد که ثمر نظر ایمانست و ثمره قدم عرفان
211, 8, for *معرفت* reads *معروف* و. 211, 9, substitutes *در تیه* for *و* before, and inserts *وی را* after *ضلالت*; and after *گفت* adds *نا* و اظهار نا نمود
211, 10, inserts *شعر* at beginning of line. 211, 12, omits *[و ایضاً]*. 211, 11, *فگندش*. Of the passage thus emended the translation is as follows:—

"And it will become apparent for what reason this pure, celestial and luminous spirit was drawn into the form of this lowly earthen mould, and also why it must part therefrom, why the spirit must sever its connection with this mould, why the form must perish, and what is the reason for the restoration of this mould at the Resurrection and the reinvestiture of the spirit therewith. Then will he [*i.e.* the enquirer] come forth from the company of '*these are like cattle, nay, they are yet more misguided*'¹, attain to the rank of [true] humanity, escape from the

¹ *Qur'án*, xxv, 46.

veil of heedlessness of '*they know the outward appearance of this present life, but are careless as to the life to come*,' and set his feet eagerly and joyfully in the Pilgrim's Path, so that what he acquires by vision he may translate into progress, seeing that the fruit of vision is Faith, while the fruit of progress is Wisdom. But those poor philosophers, atheists and materialists, who are debarred from these two stations, err and go astray, so that one of the most talented of them, who is known and noted amongst them for scholarship, philosophical knowledge and judgement, that is 'Umar-i-Khayyám, in the extreme of bewilderment must needs advertise his blindness in the desert of error by uttering the following verses:

*'To that circle wherein is our coming and going
Neither beginning nor end is apparent.
No one breathes a true word in this world
As to whence is our coming and whither our going?'*

*'Since [God the All-] Holder arranged the composition of [men's] natures
Wherefore did He again cast them into decline and decay?
If these forms are ugly, whose is the fault,
And if they are good, wherefore their destruction?'*"

5. Shahrazúrí's Tawárikhu'l-Ḥukamá.

This "History of the Philosophers," properly entitled *Nuzhatu'l-Arwáh wa Rawdatu'l-Afráh*, composed by Shamsu'd-Dín Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd of Shahrazúr between A.H. 586 and 611 (A.D. 1190 and 1214), exists in two recensions, one Arabic and one Persian¹. Of the latter there exists, besides the MS. described by Rieu, another MS. (No. 97) in the Pote Collection in the library of King's College, Cambridge. Both versions are given in the original by Zhukovski², with a Russian translation of the Persian version, while Sir E. Denison Ross's English translation follows the Arabic, of which the text is reprinted on pp. 212-214 of Mírzá Muḥammad's Persian notes. The Arabic verses contained in it are, however, corrupt, and need emendation.

6. Ibnu'l-Athír.

Mention of 'Umar-i-Khayyám is made by this great historian, who wrote in A.H. 628 (A.D. 1230-1), under the year A.H. 467 (A.D. 1074-5), where he says:—

"And in it the Nizámu'l-Mulk and Sultán Maliksháh assembled a number of the most notable astronomers, and fixed the *Naw-rúz* (Persian New Year's Day) in the first point of Aries, it having been hitherto at the passage of the Sun through the middle point of Pisces; and what the Sultán did became the starting-point of [all subsequent] Calendars. In it also was constructed the Observatory for Sultán

¹ *Qur'an*, xxx, 6.

² The second of these quatrains, which may be accounted amongst the most certainly genuine of those ascribed to 'Umar, is No. 126 in E. H. Whinfield's edition.

³ See Sachau's Introduction to his edition of al-Bírúní's *al-Átháru'l-Bdqiya*, pp. 1-11, and Rieu's *Persian Supplement*, pp. 68-9.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 327-9.

Maliksháh, for the making of which a number of notable astronomers were assembled, amongst them 'Umar ibn Ibráhim al-Khayyámí, Abu'l-Muzaffar al-Isfizári, Maymún ibnu'n-Najíb al-Wásiṭi, and others. A great amount of wealth was expended upon it, and the Observatory remained in use until the King died in A.H. 485 (A.D. 1092-3), but after his death it was disused."

7. Al-Qiftí's Ta'ríkhu'l-Hukamá.

The "History of the Philosophers," composed between A.H. 624 and 646 (A.D. 1227 and 1248-9) by Jamálu'd-Dín Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alí ibn Yúsuf al-Qiftí, and edited by Dr Julius Lippert¹, also contained a notice of 'Umar-i-Khayyám, of which a French translation is given by Woepcke in his *L'Algèbre d'Omar Alkhayyami*², while later Russian and English versions are given by Zhukovski and Ross respectively³.

8. Ta'ríkh-i-Jahán-gushá.

In the account of the massacre of the people of Merv perpetrated by the Mongols early in the year 618/1221 one of 'Umar's quatrains is said to have been recited by Sayyid 'Izzu'd-Dín *Nassába* when he had finished counting the bodies of the victims, of whom the number exceeded 1,300,000. This history was composed in 658/1260, and the passage in question occurs in vol. i, p. 128 ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xvi, 1).

9. Qazwíní's Átháru'l-Bilád.

In his "Monuments of the Lands," composed in A.H. 674 (A.D. 1275-6), Zakariyyá ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmúd al-Qazwíní gives, under his notice of the city of Nishápúr, some account of 'Umar⁴ containing certain new materials which I have summarized in my *Lit. Hist. of Persia* (ii, 251-2).

10. The Jámi'u't-Tawárikh.

I believe that I was the first to call attention⁵ to an important notice of 'Umar in Rashídu'd-Dín Faḍlu'lláh's great history, compiled about the beginning of the eighth century of the *hijra* (fourteenth of the Christian era). The importance of this notice lies in the fact that it professes to be copied from an Isma'ílí biography of Hasan-i-Ṣabbáh, entitled *Sar-guzasht-i-Sayyid-ná* ("the Adventures of Our Master"), found in the library of Alamút, the Assassins' chief stronghold in Persia, where it was destroyed by Húlágú and his Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century of our era; and that it affords a much more respectable authority than any previously adduced for the famous "Story of the Three Friends," i.e. the *Nizdmu'l-Mulk*, Hasan-i-Ṣabbáh, and 'Umar-i-Khayyám⁶. The chronological difficulties involved in this story, how-

¹ Leipzig, 1903. The notice of 'Umar occurs on pp. 243-4.

² Paris, 1851, pp. v-vi of the Preface and p. 52 of the text.

³ See also my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii, pp. 250-1.

⁴ P. 318 of Wüstenfeld's edition.

⁵ In a paper entitled *Yet more Light on 'Umar-i-Khayyám* which appeared in the *J.R.A.S.* for 1899 (pp. 409-411). See my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii, 252-3.

⁶ See, besides the passage in my *Lit. Hist. of Persia* cited in the previous note, pp. 190-193 of the same volume.

ever, render its acceptance very difficult. *Mirzá* Muḥammad has communicated to me the ingenious suggestion that its historical basis is to be found in a passage in Yāqūt's *Mu'jamu'l Uḍabā* or "Dictionary of Learned Men", where it is stated on the authority of Abū'l-Ḥasan ibn Abi'l-Qāsim Zayd al-Bayhaqī, author of the *Mashāribu't-Tajārib*, that in the year 434/1042-3 the poet 'Alī ibnū'l-Ḥasan al-Bākhārī and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Maṣṣūr al-Kundurī, who subsequently became famous under the title of '*Amīdu'l-Mulk*' as Minister to the Saljūq Sulṭāns Ṭughril Beg and Alp Arslān, were fellow-pupils of the same Imām Muwaffaq of Nishāpūr at whose lectures the "Three Friends" are supposed to have become acquainted. That the framework of a story should be preserved with the substitution of more interesting or more celebrated personalities as its heroes is a very common literary phenomenon. If this has happened in the present case, the poet al-Bākhārī has simply been replaced by the poet 'Umar-i-Khayyām, and Alp Arslān's earlier Minister '*Amīdu'l-Mulk*' by his later Minister *Nizāmu'l-Mulk*, the Imām Muwaffaq remaining in both versions.

11. Ta'rīkh-i-Guzida.

This well-known history, composed in 730/1329-1330, also contains a brief notice of 'Umar and cites one of his quatrains. ("E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, xiv, 1, pp. 817-818.)

12. Firdawsu't-Tawārīkh.

This work, the "Paradise of Histories," composed in A.H. 808 (A.D. 1405-6) by Mawlānā Khusrāw of Abarqūh, contains an account of 'Umar-i-Khayyām of which the Persian text is reproduced from Zhukovski's article on pp. 217-219 of the Persian notes, and of which the substance is given in my *Lit. Hist.*, ii, 254.

13. The Ta'rīkh-i-Alfī.

This late work, composed, as its title implies, in A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-2)¹ for the Emperor Akbar by Aḥmad ibn Naṣru'llāh of Tatta in India, contains a very entertaining anecdote concerning 'Umar-i-Khayyām's belief in Metempsychosis, which is given in English on pp. 254-5 of vol. ii of my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, and of which the text will be found on pp. 219-220 of the Persian notes.

The above list is far from exhaustive, but contains all the older and more authentic as well as the more interesting of the modern notices of this famous man.

'Umar-i-Khayyām's Scientific Works.

These include—

(1) His treatise on Algebra, of which the Arabic text accompanied by a French translation was published at Paris in 1851 by F. Woepcke.

(2) On the difficulties of Euclid's Definitions, of which a manuscript is preserved at Leyden (No. 967). See also Brockelmann, i, 471.

¹ "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series, vi, 5, p. 124.

² It extends, however, only to the year 997/1588-9.

(3) The *Zij*, or Calendar, of Maliksháh, to which, as noticed above (*s.v.* Ibnul-Athír), 'Umar contributed.

(4) A brief treatise on Natural Philosophy.

(5) A Persian treatise on Being, composed for Fakhru'l-Mulk¹ ibn Mu'ayyad, of which a MS. (Or. 6572, f. 51) is preserved in the British Museum. In another MS. (Suppl. Pers. 139, No. 7) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, described by M. E. Blochet in his *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans* (Paris, 1905, vol. i, p. 108), the name of the person to whom this work is dedicated is given as Fakhru'd-Din Mu'ayyadu'l-Mulk, whom Mírzá Muḥammad is inclined to identify with the son of the Nizámu'l-Mulk who bore this latter title. This treatise, according to a manuscript note by M. Blochet, has been translated by M. Christensen and published in the *Monde Oriental* (Copenhagen, 1905).

(6) A treatise on Growth and Obligation (*Kawn wa Taklîf*).

(7) Methods for ascertaining the respective proportions of gold and silver in an amalgam or admixture containing both. A MS. of this (No. 1158) exists in the library of Gotha.

(8) A treatise entitled *Lawázimu'l-Amkina* on the Seasons and on the causes of the diversity of climate in different places.

The Quatrains.

How many of the *Rubá'íyyát* or Quatrains attributed to 'Umar-i-Khayyám are really his it is impossible to determine, since no very ancient manuscript collection of them has yet been discovered²; but Zhukovski has enumerated more than fourscore which are ascribed on at least equally good authority to other poets³. Although they have repeatedly been lithographed in Persia and India, they enjoy, thanks to Edward FitzGerald's translation, a far greater celebrity in the West, and especially in England and America, than in the land of their origin, where no one would think of ranking 'Umar as a poet in the same category as Firdawsí, Sa'dí or Háfiz. The causes of 'Umar's popularity in the West are manifold. *First*, he had the supreme good fortune to find a translator like FitzGerald. *Secondly*, the beauty of his quatrains depends more on their substance than on their form, whereas the converse

¹ Perhaps Fakhru'l-Mulk ibn Nizámu'l-Mulk, the Prime Minister of Sultán Barkiyáruq.

² The oldest MS. (Bodl. No. 525) was copied in A.H. 865 (A.D. 1460-1) nearly three centuries and a half after 'Umar's death. The text of this, in *facsimile* and in print, with literal prose translation, was published by Mr Edward Heron Allen (London: H. S. Nichols, Ltd.) in 1898. Mírzá Muḥammad informs me that a year or two before the War (*i.e.* in 1912 or 1913) there was offered for sale by an Armenian dealer in Paris a very fine autograph MS. of the *Má'nisu'l-Ahrár* of the Persian poet Muḥammad ibn Badr-i-Jájarml, transcribed in the year 740/1339-1340. It comprised about 600 leaves, and contained extensive selections from the works of some two hundred of the most celebrated Persian poets from the earliest times down to the date of compilation. Amongst these poems were included some twenty of 'Umar-i-Khayyam's quatrains, which were copied by Mírzá Muḥammad into a note-book. I do not know what has become of this precious manuscript.

³ For a list of these see my *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, ii, 256-7.

holds good of much Persian poetry. *Thirdly*, their gentle melancholy, half sceptical mysticism and graceful pessimism are congenial to an age which, like his own, has come to the conclusion that science can answer almost every question save that which most intimately concerns our own hopes and happiness.

The information given by Mírzá Muḥammad in the latter part of his note (pp. 222-7) about the European renderings of 'Umar-i-Khayyám and his admirers and imitators, and especially about the Club called by his name, though new to most Persian readers, is familiar to all in this country who take an interest in such matters, and may be found in great detail in Nathan Haskell Dole's "Multi-Variorum edition" (Macmillan, London, 1898).

Note XXVI. On certain medical terms in the Preface to the Fourth Discourse.

(Text, pp. 68-9; Persian notes, p. 230.)

The Pulse (*Nabḍ*) is very fully discussed in all Arabic and Persian works on Medicine, e.g. the *Firdawsu'l-Ḥikmat* of 'Alí ibn Rabban at-Ṭabari, *Naw'* iv, *Maqála xii*, chs. 6-9 (Brit. Mus. Arundel Or. 41, ff. 163^a-165^b); the *Kámilu's-Šiná'at*, also called *al-Kitábu'l-Malikí*, of 'Alí ibnu'l-'Abbás al-Majúsí, *Part I*, *Maqála vii*, chs. 2-11 (Cairo ed. of 1294/1877, vol. i, pp. 254-281); the *Qánún* of Avicenna, *Book I*, *Fann ii*, *Ta'lim iii*, *Jumla 1* (19 sections), pp. 62-8 of the Rome edition of A.D. 1593 (= ff. 49^b-53^b of the Latin translation printed at Venice in 1544); and the Persian *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhí*, *Book II*, *Guftár iii*, chs. 1-23.

As our author chiefly follows Avicenna, we may conveniently do the same, though indeed the general views of all these writers appear to be almost identical. Each pulsation consists of four factors or elements, two movements (*ḥarakat*), a diastole (*inbisát*) and a systole (*inqibáḍ*), and two pauses (*sukún*) separating the two movements. The ten kinds or genera (*jins*) of pulse are determined by consideration of the following features :—

(1) The amount of the diastole (*miqdáru'l-inbisát*, "genus quod est sumptum ex quantitate diastoles"). In this genus three elements are to be considered, length (*túl*), breadth (*'arḍ*) and depth (*'umq*), each of which supplies three simple varieties of pulse, two extremes and a mean, besides composite varieties, which I shall not here enumerate. Thus we have the long (*tawíl*), the short (*qasír*, "curtus") and the intermediate (*mu'tadíl*, "mediocris"); the broad (*'aríḍ*, "latus"), the narrow (*ḍayyiq*, "strictus") and the intermediate; the depressed (*mukhaffaḍ*, "profundus"), the ascending, elevated or prominent (*mushrif*, "apertus") and the intermediate.

(2) The quality of the impact on the fingers of the observer (*kayfiyyatu qar'í'l-ḥarakati'l-ašábi'a*, "genus quod est sumptum ex qualitate percussionis venæ in digitos"). This also has three varieties, the strong (*qawí*, "fortis"), the weak (*ḍa'if*, "debilis") and the intermediate (*mu'tadíl*, "æqualis").

(3) The time or duration of each movement (*zamānu kulli ḥarakat^m*, "quod ex tempore cujuscunque motionis sumptum est"). This also comprises three varieties, the quick (*sarī*, "velox"), the slow (*baṭī*, "tardus"), and the intermediate ("æqualis").

(4) Resistance to the touch (*qiwāmu'l-ālat*, "quod ex essentiā instrumenti sumitur"). Here also we have three varieties, the soft (*layyin*, "mollis"), the hard (*ṣalb*, "durus") and the intermediate ("mediocris").

(5) Emptiness or fulness (*ḥālu mā yaḥtawī 'alayhi min khalā'ihi wa 'mtild'ihi*, "quod est sumptum ex eo quod continetur"), three varieties, the full (*mumtālī*, "plenus"), the empty (*khālī*, "vacuus") and the intermediate ("mediocris").

(6) Heat or cold (*ḥarru malmasihi wa barduhu*, "quod ex suo tactu sumptum est"), three varieties, the hot (*ḥarr*, "calidus"), the cold (*bārid*, "frigidus") and the intermediate ("temperatus").

(7) The duration of the pause (*zamānu's-sukūn*, "quod est sumptum ex tempore quietis"), three varieties, the continuous (*mutawāṭir*, also called *mutaddrik* and *mutakāthif*, "frequens," "consequens" or "spissus"), the differentiated (*mutafāwīt*, also called *mutarākhi* and *mutakhalkhīl*, "rarus," "lassus" or "resolutus"), and the intermediate ("mediocris").

(8) The equality or diversity of the pulse (*istiwā'u'n-nabdi wa 'khtilāfuhu*, "quod est sumptum ex æqualitate et diversitate," "aut æquale, aut diversum seu inæquale"), two varieties, equal (*mustawī*, "æqualis") and unequal (*mukhtalīf*, "diversus").

(9) The regularity or irregularity of the pulse (*an-nizām wa ghayru'n-nizām*, "genus quod ex ordinatione et inordinatione sumptum est"), two varieties, regularly different (*mukhtalīf muntaẓim*, "diversē ordinatus") and irregularly different (*mukhtalīf ghayru muntaẓim*, "diversē inordinatus").

(10) Weight, harmony or measure (*wazn*, "quod ex pondere est sumptum"), which may be either good or bad, each of which comprises three varieties.

It will thus be seen that 37 primary varieties of pulse are recognized, but there are many secondary and composite types which it would take too long to enumerate. Speaking of the latter in the first group or genus mentioned above Avicenna says that some only are named, such as *al-'aẓīm* ("magnus") and *as-ṣaghīr* ("parvus"), *al-ghalīẓ* ("grossus") and *ar-raḡīq* ("subtilis"); and the next section but one (§ iii) treats of the different sorts of composite pulse which have proper names, such as *al-ghazālī* ("gazellans"), *al-mawjī* ("undosus"), *ad-dūdī* ("vermiculosus"), *an-namlī* ("formicans"), etc. Very full treatment is accorded to the whole subject, and in particular it is explained why the pulse is felt at the wrist preferably to any other place, and what precautions should be observed in feeling it. The remarks about the observing of the systole ascribed by our author to Avicenna appear to be really quoted by him from Galen: "Galenus quoque dixit 'longo tempore non fui sollicitus ex depressione: postea vero non quievi tangendo donec ex eo aliquid percepi, et postea illud complevi. Nam postea portæ pulsus mihi apertæ fuerunt'."

Next in importance to the examination of the pulse came the inspection of the urine as a means of diagnosis. This is called, as in the text, *Tafsira*, a word thus defined in the great *Dictionary of the Technical Terms used in the Sciences of the Musalmáns* (p. 1115): "This with the physicians is the vessel wherein is the patient's urine [intended] to be shewn to the physician; and it is also called *dalil* (indication, guide). It is only called *tafsira* because it explains (*tufassir*) and makes manifest to the physician the patient's physical condition." The chief points to be observed in it are the colour (*law'n*), consistency (*qiwám*), smell (*rd'íha*), froth (*zubb*), sediment (*rusúb*), and copious or scanty quantity (*kathrat wa qillat*). Twelve sections are devoted to this subject in the *Qánún*, and twenty-nine in the *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhi*.

The word translated "delirium" in the text is *sarsám*, so explained by Schlimmer (pp. 179 and 460), with the equivalent of Phrenitis. This latter word appears correctly as *قَرَانِيْطُس* (*farránítus*) in a fine old twelfth or thirteenth century MS. of the *Qánún* in my possession; but in the Rome edition of A.D. 1593 (p. 302) in the corrupt form *قَرَانِيْطُس* (*qaránítus*)¹, and in the Latin version as "karabitus." It is defined by Avicenna as a "hot swelling (or inflammation) of the pia mater or dura mater not extending to the substance of the brain," and would therefore appear to be equivalent to meningitis.

The general doctrine of Fever and its Varieties taught by "Arabian Medicine" is most clearly and succinctly set forth in Book V of the Persian *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhi*, of which I possess a very fine MS. transcribed in the thirteenth century of the Christian era. This Book comprises six *Guftárs*, or Discourses, of which the first, divided into four chapters, treats "of what Fever is, and of how many species, how it appears and how it passes away." The first chapter, on "What Fever is," may be translated in full on account of its brevity.

"You must know that 'Fever is an abnormal² heat enkindled in the heart, transmitted by the intermediary of the spirit and the blood to the blood-vessels and [thus] diffused throughout the whole body, which it heats and inflames with an inflammation whereof the harmful effects appear in all the natural functions.' This sentence formulated above is the definition (*hadd*) of Fever; the word 'Heat' is the genus, while the other words are the specific differentiations (*fasl-há-yi dhátl*) whereby the definition is completed. Further you must know that the heat of Fever is not like the heat of anger, fatigue, grief and the like, because these heats harmfully affect the natural functions without the intervention of anything else, even as when water descends into the eye the hurtful effect thereof on the vision becomes apparent without the intervention of anything else; and when the heat of anger, or the like thereof, reaches that point where it will be injurious to the natural functions, it is but the cause, and the injury thereof only becomes apparent by the intervention of something else. Even so is the putridity [*'ufúnat*] of fever, for the

¹ This same corrupt form also occurs in most MSS. of the *Dhakhíra-i-Khwárazmsháhi*, Book VI, *Guftár* i, Part 1, ch. 1, where, however, the word is specifically recognized as Greek.

² *Gharíb*, lit. "strange."

putridity is the cause, while the hurt thereof is through the intervention of that heat which is produced from it. And the natural functions, wherein the hurt of fever becomes apparent, are such as the appetite for food and wine, digestion, rising up, sitting down, going, eating, sexual intercourse, and the like thereof."

The next (second) chapter deals with the different kinds of fever, and is too long (3 pages) to be translated in full here. The human body is compounded of three sorts of substances; (1) basic tissues such as the bones, nerves and blood-vessels; (2) the marrow of the bones, the blood, and other liquids contained in the vessels and cavities of the body, such as the phlegm, bile and black bile, known as the 'humours'; (3) the natural, animal or vital, and psychic spirits, and the vapours diffused throughout the body. This composite body the ancients have likened to a hot bath, whereof the walls, bricks and stones are represented by the bones, nerves and blood-vessels; the water by the marrow, the blood, and the humours; and the steam by the natural, animal and psychic spirits, and the vapours. When the heat of the fever attacks the basic tissues of the body, it is like the heat of the fire affecting the walls, stones and bricks of the hot bath; and this kind of fever is called 'hectic' (*diqq*). When it first attacks the humours and subsequently the basic tissues, it is like the hot water being let into the chambers of the bath and heating the walls; and this kind of fever is called 'humoristic' (*khaltiyya*). When it attacks the spirit and the vapours, which in turn heat the humours and the tissues, it is like the hot air in the bath heating in turn the water and the walls thereof; and this kind of fever is called 'quotidian' (Pers. *tab-i-yak-rúza*; Arab. *humma yawm^m*).

This is one classification. Another is into 'simple' (*basit*) and 'compound' (*murakkab*), according as one humour only is involved, or more than one. Thirteen kinds of fever are recognized, viz. :—

- (1) That which is in itself an independent disease.
- (2) That which is the symptom of some other disease.
- (3) Very high fever called 'acute' (*hadda*).
- (4) The slower and heavier fever called 'chronic' (*muzmina*).
- (5) That which attacks by day.
- (6) That which attacks by night.
- (7) That which passes away easily.
- (8) Fevers which are fierce in their onset and accompanied by alarming symptoms.
- (9) Continuous fevers (*lázim* or *muṭbiqa*).
- (10) Non-continuous fevers (*muftura*).
- (11) Cold fevers.
- (12) Fevers accompanied by rigors (Pers. *larza*; Arab. *náfiḍ*, *ra'da*).
- (13) Fevers accompanied by 'goose-skin' (Pers. *faráshá*; Arab. *qash'arira*).

These, says the author, are the broad general divisions, each of which contains subdivisions which will be treated of in subsequent chapters. Fevers of the type called "putrid" (*'afin*, in Persian *ganda* or

pūsida) are of four kinds, corresponding to the four humours (*akhlāt*) from the corruption of which they arise, and each of these is subdivided into two varieties, according as the corruption arises within or without the blood vessels. But since two or more of these kinds may co-exist or combine, a large number of compound or composite fevers (*tab-hā-yi murakkab*) arises, each presenting different and characteristic symptoms. Thus two types of intermittent fever may co-exist, or two types of continuous fever, or an intermittent with a continuous fever, so that the diagnosis may be very difficult. Generally speaking, quotidian fever (Arab. *humma kullī yawm*ⁱⁿ, Pers. *tab-i-har-rūza*) arises from corruption of the phlegm (*balgham*); tertian (Arab. *ghibb*) from that of the bile (*ṣafrā*); quartan is atrabilious (*sawdāwī*) in origin; and semi-tertian (*shaṭrūl-ghibb*) is from a combination of bilious and phlegmatic disturbance. Fevers arising from corruption in the blood, on the other hand, are continuous (*mutbiqa*, or *lāzim*). If the blood become overheated in the vessels without undergoing corruption, the resulting fever is called *sūnākhīs* (? *συνεχής*). If there is corruption as well, it may affect half the blood, or less, or more, in which last case the resulting fever is called "burning" (Arab. *muhriqa*, Pers. *sūzanda*). But if all the blood be so affected, the patient will surely die. All fevers arising from the blood are continuous, whether the affection of the blood be primary or secondary. The latter may arise from a "bloody swelling" (*āmās-i-khūnī*) of one of the internal organs, such as the stomach, liver, spleen, gall-bladder, bowels, lungs, diaphragm, muscles or nerves. Such secondary fever is not an independent disease but a symptom, and the treatment must therefore be directed to the cause. The aetiology of corruption of the humours is discussed in a subsequent section of the book (Book V, *Guftār* iii, ch. 1).

It is to be noted that in the older Arabic medical treatises, such as the *Firdawsu'l-Hikmat* (composed in A.D. 850), there is a tendency to use the original Greek nomenclature transcribed into Arabic characters instead of the Arabic translations which subsequently replaced these foreign forms. Thus we find quotidian fever called *افيمروس* (*ἐφήμερος*) as well as *حمى يوم*; hectic fever called *اقتيقوس* (*ἐκτικός*) instead of *حمى غيب*; tertian *طراطاوس* (*τριταῖος*) instead of *حمى غيب*; and semi-tertian as *اميطرطاوس* (*ἡμιτριταῖος*) instead of *شطر الغيب*.

The student's attention may also be directed to an excellent article on Fever (*الحمى*) in vol. i of the *Dict. of Technical Terms, etc.*, pp. 381-3, where a fourfold classification is adopted having regard to (1) causation, primary or secondary (*marad* or *'arad*); (2) point of attack, as explained above (quotidian, hectic and putrid or humoristic); (3) simplicity or complexity; (4) occurrence or non-occurrence of rigors (*nāfiḍ*).

Note XXVII. Physicians and their Works mentioned in Anecdote XXXII.

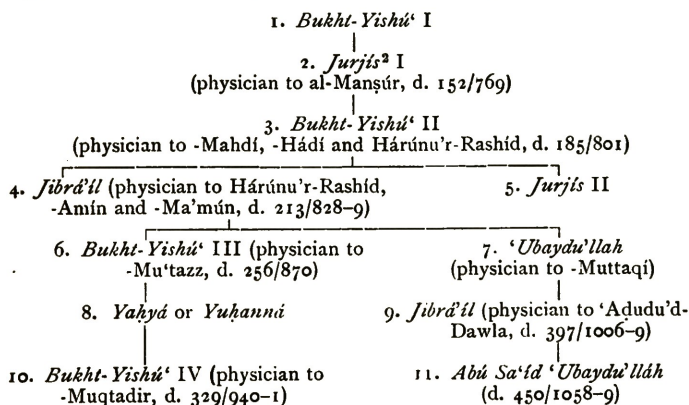
(Text, pp. 70-71; Persian notes, pp. 230-8.)

It will be convenient to arrange the medical works here mentioned under their authors, and these in turn, so far as possible, in chronological

order. For the authorities to which reference is most constantly made the following abbreviations are used. By **Barhebraeus** is meant the *Mukhtaṣaru'd-Duwal* (Beyrout ed. of 1890) of Gregorius Abu'l-Faraj ibn Ahrún commonly called Ibnu'l-'Ibrī or Barhebraeus. The **Fihrist** of Abu'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn Abī Ya'qūb Ishāq an-Nadīm al-Warrāq is, of course, quoted from Flügel's (the only) edition. **Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a** means that author's *'Uyūnu'l-Inbā fi Ṭabaqāti'l-Aṭibbā*, Cairo edition of 1299/1882, two volumes. **Qiftī** means Jamālu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Yūsuf al-Qiftī's *Ta'rikhu'l-Ḥukamā*, ed. Lippert (Leipzig, 1903). The chief European authorities quoted are **Wüstenfeld's** *Geschichte der Arabischen Aerzte und Naturforscher* (Göttingen, 1840), a small book but compact with useful information; Lucien **Leclerc's** *Histoire de la Médecine Arabe* (2 vols., Paris, 1876); Max **Neuburger's** *Geschichte der Medizin* (Stuttgart, 1908), especially vol. ii, pp. 142-228, "Die Medizin bei den Arabern," and the complementary *Literarhistorische Übersicht*; **Pagel's** *Einführung in die Geschichte der Medizin* (Berlin, 1898), ninth lecture (pp. 146-160) on Arabian Medicine; Adolf **Fonahn's** *Zur Quellenkunde der Persischen Medizin* (Leipzig, 1910); E. T. **Withington's** *Medical History from the earliest times* (London, 1894); and F. H. **Garrison's** *Introduction to the History of Medicine* (London and Philadelphia, 1917). As a rule, however, in these brief notes reference will only be made to the original Arabic sources.

1. *Bukht-Yishū'.*

Ten members of this great medical family, which for three centuries (eighth to eleventh of our era) produced some of the most eminent physicians of that time, are enumerated by Wüstenfeld (pp. 14-18, Nos. 26-35). They were Christians, as indicated by the family name, for the correct explanation of which (*Bukht-Yishū'* = "Jesus hath delivered") we are indebted to Nöldeke¹. The chief members of the family, with their affiliation, so far as it is known, were as follows:—



¹ See p. 81 *supra*, n. 1 *ad calc.*

² Wüstenfeld (p. 14), following Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (i, 123), inserts a *Jibrā'il* between *Jurjīs* and *Bukht-Yishū'*, but *Qiftī* (p. 158 *etc.*) represents *Jurjīs* I as the son, not the grandson, of *Bukht-Yishū'* I.

Concerning the original Bukht-Yishú¹ I can find out nothing, but it may be supposed that he, like his son Jurjis, was attached to the great hospital (*Bimáristán*) and medical school of his native town Jundí-Sábúr. This once famous Persian city, of which hardly a trace now remains, though its site has been identified by Rawlinson² as the modern Sháh-ábád, about mid-way between Dizful and Shúshtar, was originally founded by Shápúr I, and named, according to Ṭabari³, *Beh-az-Andêw-i-Shápúr*, or "Shápúr's 'Better than Antioch,'" a name gradually shortened to Gundê-Shápúr, or, in its Arabic form, Junday-Sábúr. "It was enlarged into a great city," says Rawlinson, "by his seventh successor Shápúr II '*Dhu'l-Aktáf*' (A.D. 309-379)...and during his reign became the see of a bishop of the Nestorian Church which had been instituted in Susiana a century before; and when Jundí-Sábúr soon afterwards rose to be the chief city of the province, the seat of the metropolitan, which had been formerly fixed at Ahwáz, or, as it is called by the Syrians, Bêth Lâpât³, was transferred to it. The School of Jundí-Sábúr was renowned, during the reign of Anúsharwân (A.D. 531-578), through the East and West; and the city continued, to the time of the Arab conquest, one of the great capitals of Susiana. It appears to have sunk before the rising greatness of Shúshtar in the thirteenth century; and it is little mentioned in Oriental History after that time."

On the destruction of the great Persian school of Edessa in A.D. 488-9 by order of the Emperor Zeno⁴ many of its learned Nestorian professors and physicians sought refuge from Byzantine fanaticism under the more tolerant rule of the Sásánians at Jundí-Sábúr, and gave a fresh impulse to its activity. During the Arab invasion of Persia (A.H. 15-17; A.D. 636-8) it surrendered on terms to the Muslims⁵, and its school apparently continued unmolested until the early 'Abbásid period, when the Caliph al-Mansúr (A.H. 136-158; A.D. 754-775), being grievously ill, summoned Jurjis I, son of Bukht-Yishú¹ I, to Baghdád, where he remained, greatly trusted and honoured, in spite of his refusal to forsake the Christian for the Muhammadan faith, until A.H. 152 (A.D. 769), when, being himself sick unto death, he obtained the Caliph's permission to return home. From that time onwards until the middle of the eleventh century some member of the family was always one of the chief physicians of the Court at Baghdád. Lengthy notices of most of those enumerated above, with lists of their medical and other works, are given by Qiftí, Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a and other medical biographers. For such as do not read Arabic the information given by Wüstenfeld (pp. 14-18) and Leclerc (i, pp. 95-103) will probably suffice. It is uncertain whether the Bukht-Yishú¹ mentioned in the text (Anecdote XXXIII) is intended to be the father or the son of Jibrá'il. The former died twelve years before al-Ma'mún's accession, while the latter survived him thirty-seven years.

¹ *Notes on a March from Zoháb to Khúzistán* in the *J.R. Geogr. Soc.* for 1839, vol. ix, pp. 71-72. See also Layard's remarks in vol. xvi, p. 86, of the same Journal.

² See Nöldeke's *Gesch. d. Pers. u. Arab. zur Zeit d. Sasaniden* (Leyden, 1879), pp. 40-42.

³ See Nöldeke, *loc. cit.*

⁴ See Dr W. Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 46-47.

⁵ See Baládhuri's *Futúhu'l-Buldán* (ed. de Goeje), pp. 382-385.

An anecdote in the *Kitābu'l-Bukhalā* ("Book of Misers")¹ of al-Jāhīz in which an Arab physician, Asad ibn Jāni, complains that patients will not consult him because, amongst other reasons, "his language is Arabic, and it should have been the language of Jundi-Sābūr," shews how great was the repute of that famous school of Medicine in early 'Abbāsīd times. Exactly what this language was is uncertain. Ibn Hawqal² says that, besides Arabic and Persian, the people of Jundi-Sābūr have another speech of Khūzistān which is neither Hebrew, nor Syriac, nor Persian; while in the *Mandhijū'l-Fikar* it is said that they have a language peculiar to themselves, resembling a jargon (*raṭāna*), though the Persian language is prevalent amongst them³. Speaking of their religion al-Muqaddasi⁴ says that in his time (middle of the tenth century of the Christian era) there were few Christians and not many Jews and Zoroastrians, and that of the Muslims many were Mu'tazilites, Shī'a (especially at Ahwāz) and Ḥanbalites.

2. *Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq al-'Ibādī.*

This was another Christian scholar, well known to mediaeval Europe under the name of Joannitius, who rendered signal services to Arabian science, together with his sons Dā'ūd and Ishāq and his nephew Ḥubaysh, all of whom were skilful and industrious translators of Greek books into Arabic. He was a Nestorian of Hīra, where his father was an apothecary, and early in the ninth century of the Christian era came to Baghdād, where he studied under the celebrated Yahyā (or Yuḥannā) Māsawayh (Mesuē senior) of Jundi-Sābūr, a pupil of Jibrā'il ibn Bukht-Yishū'. Offended at some real or fancied slight, he went off to study Greek amongst the Greeks⁵, and some years later was seen by one of his former acquaintances in the guise of a long-haired wandering bard reciting Homer in the streets. Later he returned to Baghdād, having perfected his knowledge of Greek, and applied himself to the study of Arabic under Khalīl ibn Aḥmad. He then became so excellent as a translator from Greek into Arabic that Jibrā'il ibn Bukht-Yishū' said of him, "By God, if his life be prolonged he will assuredly put Sergius⁶ to shame!" He attracted the notice, and finally, after undergoing a cruel test of his professional honour⁷, won the confidence of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-851), but finally succumbed to the intrigues of his rivals, was excommunicated by Bishop Theodosius, and died in A.H. 260 (A.D. 873). Wüstenfeld (pp. 28-9) enumerates 33 of his original works and a number of his translations from the Greek, including the Aphorisms (*Fuṣūl*) of Hippocrates. His son Ishāq died in A.D. 910 or 911, and his nephew Ḥubaysh about the same time.

¹ Ed. Van Vloten (Leyden, 1900), pp. 109-110.

² De Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vol. ii, pp. 173-174.

³ Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a specially mentions that both Jurjīs I (vol. i, p. 124) and his son Bukht-Yishū' (vol. i, p. 126), on being presented to the Caliphs al-Manṣūr and Hārūnū'r-Rashīd respectively, prayed for them in Arabic and Persian.

⁴ De Goeje's *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vol. iii, pp. 414-415.

⁵ Qiftī, pp. 174-175.
⁶ Sergius of Ra's 'Ayn flourished about A.D. 536, and translated the Greek sciences into Syriac. See Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 88-93.

⁷ Qiftī, p. 176.

his great work the *Hāwī* (or "Continens" of mediaeval Europe), so far as I can judge from the portions of it accessible to me in the original Arabic, stands on an altogether different plane from the *Qānūn* of Avicenna or any other Arabic system of Medicine.

The year of Rāzī's birth is not recorded, but he seems to have spent the first thirty years of his life in his native town of Ray (situated near the modern Persian capital Tīhrān), from which he derived the name by which he is generally known, without becoming famous for anything except an unusual skill in music and singing. He was then seized with a desire to study Medicine and Philosophy, went to Baghdād, and there became the pupil of 'Alī ibn Rabban¹ at-Ṭabarī, formerly physician to the unfortunate Persian rebel Māzyār and afterwards to the Caliph al-Mutawakkil, for whom in A.D. 850 he composed his remarkable work the "Paradise of Wisdom" (*Firdawsu'l-Hikmat*). Having completed his medical studies he became director first of the hospital at Ray and then at Baghdād². He also devoted some attention to Alchemy, on which he composed 12 books³, but the study brought him no luck, for, being unable to translate his theories into practice, he was struck on the head by his disappointed patron Maṣṣūr, governor of Ray, in consequence of which he became blind. He refused to undergo an operation on his eyes on ascertaining that the surgeon who was to perform it was ignorant of the anatomy of the eye, adding afterwards that he had looked on the world until he was tired of it.

The marvellous acumen displayed and the wonderful cures effected by him form the subject of numerous anecdotes similar in character to No. XXXV in this book in such collections of stories as the Arabic *al-Faraj ba'da'sh-Shidda* ("Joy after Sorrow") of at-Tanūkhī⁴ and the Persian *Jawāmi'u'l-Hikāyat* of 'Awfī.

Rāzī was a most prolific writer, and Qiftī (pp. 274-7) enumerates more than a hundred of his works, most of which, unfortunately, are lost, while only a very few have been printed in the original, to wit his celebrated treatise on small-pox and measles⁵, his work on stone in the kidneys and bladder⁶, and the anatomical portion of the *Maṣṣūrī*⁷. Latin versions of the *Hāwī* ("Continens"), *Maṣṣūrī* ("Liber ad Almansorem"), and various smaller works were made and widely read in mediaeval Europe, and were in many cases printed during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They are enumerated by Dr Ludwig Choulant in his *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die Ältere Medicin* (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 340-5. One of the most interesting of Rāzī's minor works, in which he discusses the reasons why quacks often enjoy

¹ His father's name is often wrongly given as *Zayn* (زين), but he explicitly states in the Introduction to his *Firdawsu'l-Hikmat*, or "Paradise of Wisdom," that he was called *Rabban* (ربن), "that is to say, our master and teacher." Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (i, 186) explains the title in precisely the same sense.

² Qiftī, p. 271.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁴ See the edition of this work printed at the Hilāl Press, Cairo, in 1903, vol. ii, p. 96. The author was born in 327/938-9 and died in 384/994-5.

⁵ *De Variolis et Morbillis, arabice et latine, cura John Channing* (London, 1766).

⁶ *Traité sur le Calcul dans les Reins et dans la Vessie...traduction accompagnée du texte par P. de Koning* (Leyden, 1896).

⁷ *Trois Traités d'Anatomie arabes...texte et traduction par P. de Koning* (Leyden, 1903), pp. 2-89.

greater popularity than properly qualified physicians, has been translated into German by the learned Moritz Steinschneider and published in Virchow's *Archiv* (vol. xxxvi, 1865, pp. 570-586). This is entitled "Wissenschaft und Charlatanerie unter den Arabern im neunten Jahrhundert," and appears to be identical with the tract described by Qiftī (p. 274) as *Kitāb fi'l-Asbāb'il-mumayyila li-qulūbi'n-Nās 'an afādili'l-Aṭibbā'i ila akhissā'ihim*, on "the causes which incline men's hearts from the most eminent of physicians to the vilest of them."

Only four of Rāzī's numerous works are mentioned in the *Chahār Maqāla*. One of them, the *Tuhfatul-Mulūk* (p. 71, l. 22 of the text), is nowhere else mentioned by this title, and cannot be identified. Another, here called the *Murshid* ("Guide"), is properly entitled *al-Fuṣūl fi'l-Ṭibb* ("Aphorisms in Medicine")¹. The two remaining works, the *Manṣūrī* and the *Hāwī*, are more important (especially the last named), and deserve somewhat fuller mention.

Al-Kitābu'l-Manṣūrī ("Liber ad Almansorem").

A great deal of confusion exists, even amongst Oriental writers, as to the identity of the Manṣūr to whom Rāzī dedicated this work, and at whose hands (as narrated above) he finally suffered such indignity. Yāqūt² alone correctly identifies him as Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad, who was appointed Governor of Ray in A.H. 290 (A.D. 903) by his cousin Aḥmad ibn Isma'il ibn Aḥmad ibn Asad ibn Sāmān, the second King of that Royal House, held that position until A.H. 296 (A.D. 908-9), and rebelled against Naṣr II ibn Aḥmad ibn Isma'il in A.H. 302 (A.D. 914-915). All other authorities, even those generally most trustworthy, seem, as Mīrzā Muḥammad points out (Persian notes, pp. 231-3 and 240-1), to have fallen into error. Thus the *Fihrist* (pp. 299-300), Qiftī (p. 272, ll. 21-2) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (i, p. 310, l. 29) call Rāzī's patron "Manṣūr ibn Isma'il," a person unknown to history; or (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a in another passage, *viz.* i, p. 313, l. 20) "Manṣūr ibn Isma'il ibn Khāqān, lord of Khurāsān and Transoxiana"; or (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, i, p. 317, ll. 17-18) "Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Isma'il ibn Aḥmad." Ibn Khallikān in one passage identifies him with Abū Ṣāliḥ Manṣūr ibn Ishāq ibn Aḥmad ibn Nūḥ (which is correct if we substitute "Asad" for "Nūḥ" in the genealogy), and in another falls into the same error as the author of the *Chahār Maqāla* by identifying him with the sixth Sāmānid ruler Manṣūr ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr, who reigned from A.H. 350 to 366 (A.D. 961-976-7), long after the death of Rāzī, which is generally placed either in the year A.H. 311 (A.D. 923-4), or in A.H. 320 (A.D. 932), though one MS. of Qiftī (p. 272) puts it as late as A.H. 364 (A.D. 974-5).

The Arabic text of the *Manṣūrī* has, so far as I know, never been published in its entirety, nor are MSS. common. For his edition of the anatomical portion of the work Dr P. de Koning made use of a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (No. 2866 of de Slane's *Catalogue*). The Latin version, as already noted, has been repeatedly printed³.

¹ See Choulant's *Handbuch*, pp. 341 and 343.

² *Mu'jamu'l-Buldān*, vol. ii, p. 901.

³ See Choulant, *op. laud.*, p. 343

Al-Kitābu'l-Hāwī ("Continens").

This is the largest and most important of the works of Rāzī. It is, moreover, a posthumous work, for after Rāzī's death Muḥammad ibnū'l-'Amīd, the Minister of Sulṭān Ruknu'd-Dawla ibn Buwayh, bought the materials and notes left by the author from his sister for a high price and placed them in the hands of a committee of his pupils to be arranged and edited. It therefore lacked the finishing touch of the Master's hand, which fact, perhaps, accounts for its somewhat inchoate character and confused arrangement. The original Arabic text has never been published; MSS. are rare and widely scattered, and it is doubtful if those which exist in the British Museum, the Bodleian, Munich and the Escorial represent in all more than half of the entire work. The Latin version, first published in 1486, and subsequently in 1500, 1506 and 1509, is rare, and has been accessible to me only in the copy marked XV. 4. 2 in the Library of King's College, Cambridge; nor do its contents agree well either with the account of the original given in the *Fihrist* (pp. 299-302) or with the manuscript volumes which I have examined in London and Oxford.

The *Fihrist* (p. 300) and Qifṭī describe the book as comprising twelve parts, thus enumerated by the former:—

- (i) The treatment of disease and of the sick.
- (ii) The preservation of health.
- (iii) Fractures, dislocations and surgical operations.
- (iv) Materia medica and diet.
- (v) Compound medicaments.
- (vi) The Art of Medicine.
- (vii) Apothecarium; colours, tastes and smells of drugs.
- (viii) Bodies.
- (ix) Weights and measures.
- (x) The anatomical structure and uses of the different members.
- (xi) Natural causes in Medicine.
- (xii) Introduction to the study of Medicine: medical names and first principles of Medicine.

The Latin version, on the other hand (Brixia, October 18, 1486), comprises twenty-five parts¹ entitled as follows:—

- (1) De morbis cerebri.
- (2) De oculis.
- (3) De auribus, naribus, lingua et gula.
- (4) De asmate, peripleumonia et pleuresi.
- (5) De passionibus stomachi.
- (6) De evacuationibus.
- (7) De passionibus cordis et epatis et splenis.

¹ But according to Choulant (p. 343) the Venice edition of A.D. 1509 is divided into 37 books. In the following table I have retained the original spelling, except in the case of ligatures and contractions.

- (8) De passionibus intestinorum.
- (9) De clisteribus et morbis matricis.
- (10) De passionibus renum.
- (11) De passionibus vesice, hernia, vermibus et cabbo(?) emorroidibus et spermate.
- (12) De arthetica et varicibus.
- (13) De squirros et aliis apostematibus.
- (14) De eo quod dissolvit saniem.
- (15) De dislocatione et minutione.
- (16) De prognosticis et summa febrium.
- (17) De effimera et ethica (for ectica).
- (18) De quotidiana, quartana, rigore et aliis.
- (19) De crisi.
- (20) De urina et venenis.
- (21) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Camomille usque ad Dausar.
- (22) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Dausar usque ad Cordumeni.
- (23) De simplicibus medicinis, incipiendo a Cordumeni complet totum.
- (24) De electionibus et sophisticationibus medicinarum simplicium tabulâ.
- (25) De regimine sanitatis.

Since the *Hâwî* or "Continens" must be regarded as the most important work of the greatest of "Arabian" physicians, access to the original text would be an essential condition of success in any detailed and comprehensive study of "Arabian" Medicine. This condition, unfortunately, is unlikely to be fulfilled, for who would undertake the labour of editing, or pay the cost of printing, for so large and so crabbed an exposition of an obsolete science? And even were the difficulty of finding an editor and a publisher overcome, it is doubtful if the manuscript materials are sufficient; if, indeed, more than half the work is still extant. Of the MSS. I have only been able to examine cursorily those in the British Museum and the Bodleian. **Laud 289** in the latter is described as containing Part (or Book) I of the work; but since it deals not only with the diseases of the Brain, but also of the Throat, Lungs and Stomach it would appear to correspond with Books I-V of the Latin translation. **Marsh 156** in the same library is described as containing Books VI and VII, but, to judge by the contents, appears rather to contain Books XVI and XVII. The third Bodleian MS., **Or. 561**, is described by Uri (ii, 162), apparently correctly, as containing Books XXIV and XXV, and deals chiefly with drugs and diet; but beginning with a glossary, alphabetically arranged, of the different organs and the diseases to which they are subject, followed by the *Kitâbu halli'r-Rumûz wa Saydalati't-Tîbb* on *Materia Medica*, and "Rules for the use of foods and drinks for the preservation

of Health," etc. The British Museum MS. **Arundel Or. 14** contains Books VIII, IX and X; while Books IV, V, VI and XI are said to be preserved in the Escorial; Book XII (? XIX) at Munich; and another MS. of Book IV in the Khedivial Library at Cairo. Should these identifications prove correct, Books I-VI, VIII-XI, XVI-XVII, and XXIV-XXV (*i.e.* 14 out of the 25 Books) would appear to be extant, while others, still undescribed and unidentified, probably exist elsewhere.

One very important and interesting feature of the Bodleian MS. **Marsh 156** is that six leaves of it (ff. 239^b-245^b) contain clinical reports of some two dozen of Rāzī's own cases which presented some unusual features rendering the diagnosis difficult. The name of the patient, the signs and symptoms of the disease, the initial and final diagnosis and treatment, with the termination of the case, are fully described with great clearness and acumen; and these cases, which certainly deserve publication, quite bear out Rāzī's high repute as a clinical observer¹.

5. *Abu'l-Khayr ibn Khammār.*

This was another eminent philosopher, physician and logician, born at Baghdād in A.H. 331 (A.D. 942-3), with whom the author of the *Fihrist* is personally acquainted². The date of his death is unknown, but from Anecdote XXXVI it is clear that he survived the year A.H. 408 (A.D. 1017-8) in which Sultān Maḥmūd conquered Khwārazm. His full name was Abu'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan ibn Suwār ibn Bābā ibn Bahrām (or, according to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, Bihnām), and he was a Christian, apparently of Persian ancestry. He made translations from Syriac into Arabic. Fifteen of his works are enumerated by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a³, but it is uncertain whether any of them still exist.

6. *Abū Naṣr ibn 'Arrāq.*

He was another contemporary of al-Bīrūnī, in whose name he composed twelve astronomical and mathematical tracts⁴. His full name was Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn 'Alī ibn 'Arrāq *Mawla Amtrī'l-Mū'minin*. He was descended from the old kings of Khwārazm, who claimed descent from the legendary Kay-Khusraw, and who maintained a quasi-independent sovereignty until the tenth Christian century. The penultimate king or prince of this line, Abū Sa'īd Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Arrāq, revised and corrected the Khwārazmian Calendar, while the last of them, Abū 'Abdī'llah Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Arrāq, is entitled by al-Bīrūnī "*Shahīd*" ("the Martyr")⁵. This, like so many other ancient and noble Persian families, seems to have been destroyed or dispersed by Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. There is no justification for our author's assertion that Abū Naṣr ibn 'Arrāq was the nephew of Khwārazmshāh.

¹ Cf. Neuburger, ii, pp. 168-175.

² See pp. 245 and 265 of that work.

³ *Op. cit.*, i, p. 333.

⁴ See p. xlviii of the *Einleitung* of Sachau's edition of the *Āthārū'l-Bāqīya*, where they are enumerated; and also pp. 246-249 of the Persian notes to the *Chahār Maqāla*.

⁵ Al-Bīrūnī's references to these two kings occur on pp. 241 and 35-36 of *al-Āthārū'l-Bāqīya*.

7. *Abū Sahl Sa'īd ibn 'Abdu'l-'Azīz an-Nīlī.*

He was a poet as well as a physician, and is consequently mentioned by Tha'ālībī in his *Yatmatu'd-Dahr* as well as by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a in his *Ṭabaqātu'l-Atibbā'*. His brother Abū 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān was as eminent in Jurisprudence as he was in Medicine. Only two or three of his medical works (commentaries on Hippocrates and Galen, an epitome of Hunayn's "Questions" or *Mas'āl*, and extracts from Rāzī's commentaries) are mentioned.

8. *'Alī ibnu'l-'Abbās al-Majūsī.*

This notable physician, known to mediaeval Europe as "Haly Abbās," and bearing, as well as al-Majūsī ("the Magian," presumably because his father or grandfather was converted to Islām from the Zoroastrian religion²), the *nisbas* of al-Ahwāzī and al-Arrajānī, was the pupil of Abū Māhir Mūsā ibn Yūsuf ibn Sayyār and afterwards court-physician to 'Aḍud-d-Dawla, and died in A.H. 384 (A.D. 994-5). The notices of him given by Qiftī (p. 232) and Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (i, pp. 236-7) are very meagre, and he is chiefly known through his great work the *Kāmilu'ṣ-Ṣinā'a* ("Perfect Practitioner") or *Kitābu'l-Maliki* ("Liber Regius"), of which there is a good edition of the original Arabic text printed at Cairo in 2 vols. in 1294/1877, besides an edition lithographed at Lahore in 1283/1866. This book enjoyed a great reputation, though it was, as Qiftī tells us, to some extent eclipsed by Avicenna's *Qānūn*, which was deemed stronger on the theoretical, though less strong on the practical side. It was translated into Latin, and this translation was printed at Venice in A.D. 1492 and again at Lyons in A.D. 1523. The title-page of the latter edition bears the following legend:—

Liber totius Medicinæ necessaria continens quem sapientissimus Haly filius Abbas discipulus abimeher moysi filii seiar edidit : regique inscripsit. unde et regalis dispositionis nomen assumpsit et a Stephano philosophiæ discipulo ex arabicâ linguâ in Latinam satis ornatam reductus necnon a domino Michæle de Capella, artium et medicinæ doctore, fecundis sinonomis a multis et diversis autoribus ab eo collectis illustratur, summâque cum diligentia impressus.

Each volume, the first dealing with the theory and the second with the practice of Medicine, contains ten Discourses (*Maqālāt*), which are subdivided into numerous chapters. The anatomical portion of the first volume (*Maqālas* ii and iii), comprising 53 chapters, has, as already been mentioned, been published with a French translation by Dr P. de Koning in his *Trois Traités d'Anatomie arabes* (Leyden, 1903).

¹ Vol. i, pp. 253-254.

² Mīrzā Muḥammad (Persian notes, p. 234) thinks that he himself was a Magian, but if so how could he have been called 'Alī and his father al-'Abbās? In the Cairo edition of his *Kāmilu'ṣ-Ṣinā'a* at "Majūsī" has been wantonly pointed as "Mujawwisi" or "Mujawwasi," in order, I suppose, to attempt to conceal his Zoroastrian origin. Mīrzā Muḥammad, however, after reading this note, has supplied me with many instances derived from such respectable authorities as aṣ-Ṣābī, Qiftī, Ibn Khallikān, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, etc., of Jews, Christians and other non-Muslims bearing Muḥammadan names, titles and *kunyas*.

The *Kāmilu's-Sind'a* is, in my opinion, far superior in style, arrangement and interest to Avicenna's *Qānūn*, and the author's estimate of his predecessors, both the "Ancients" (*i.e.* the Greeks, especially Hippocrates, Galen, Oribasius and Paul of Aegina) and the "Moderns" (*i.e.* the Syrians and Arabs, such as Ahrūn, Ibn Serapion, Rāzi, *etc.*) is admirable, as is the model description of Pleurisy which he gives as a specimen of the method he proposes to employ in the description of each disease. Dr Lucien Leclerc (*Hist. de la Médecine Arabe*, vol. i, pp. 383-8) gives a French translation of the opening portion.

9. *Abū Sahl-i-Masṭhī.*

This writer's full name is Abū Sahl 'Isā ibn Yahyā al-Masṭhī (the Christian) al-Jurjānī (of Gurgān, Jurjān or Hyrcania), and his work, here called *Ṣad Bāb* (the "Hundred Chapters"), properly bears the Arabic title of *Kitābu'l-Mi'a fi't-Tibb* (the "Book of the Hundred on Medicine"), or *al-Mi'atu Maqāla* (the "Hundred Discourses"). Born in Jurjān, the author studied chiefly at Baghdād, and was one of Avicenna's teachers, and one of the numerous men of learning who found patronage and protection at the Court of Ma'mūn ibn Muḥammad Khwārazmshāh and his son Abu'l-'Abbās Ma'mūn ibn Ma'mūn, killed in 407/1016-7. His friend Abū Rayḥān al-Bīrūnī enumerates twelve books and treatises which Abū Sahl composed in his honour and dedicated or ascribed to him¹. Wüstenfeld gives 390/1000 as the year of Abū Sahl's death, but it is not clear on what authority.

10. *Avicenna (Shaykh Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā).*

So much has been written about this celebrated philosopher and physician that it will be sufficient here to recapitulate the chief facts of his life. These are particularly well authenticated by his autobiography, which carries the narrative down to the time of his father's death, when he was twenty-one years of age, and its continuation by his friend and pupil Abū 'Ubayd al-Jūzjānī². An excellent summary, together with a list of nearly one hundred of his books, will be found in Brockelmann's *Gesch. d. Arab. Litt.*, vol. i, pp. 452-8, and there is an independent work on him (considered rather as a philosopher than a physician) by Baron Carra de Vaux³. Accounts of him, of varying degrees of completeness and accuracy, are naturally to be found in most Muhammadan biographical works composed subsequently to the eleventh century of our era. His intellectual influence, not only in the Islamic world, but, until the Renaissance, in Europe also, was immense. Brockelmann (*op. laud.*, i, 453) well says:—"He displayed an extraordinarily fruitful activity in the most varied fields of learning, especially in Philosophy and Medicine. His works, indeed, lack originality throughout; but, because they set forth in an elegant and easily intelligible form almost all the profane learning of his time, they have exercised an enduring influence on scientific studies, not only in the East, but also in Europe."

¹ See pp. xlvii-xlviii of the Preface to Sachau's edition of al-Bīrūnī's *Āthārū 'l-Bāqiyā* (Leipzig, 1876).

² For the Arabic text of them, see al-Qiftī (ed. Lippert, Leipzig, 1903), pp. 413-426.

³ *Les Grands Philosophes: Avicenna* (Paris, 1900).

Abú 'Alí al-Husayn ibn 'Abdu'lláh ibn Síná (better known in the West by the Europeanized form of his name **Avicenna**, and commonly called in Persia, his native country, **ash-Shaykhu'r-Ra'ís**, "the Chief Doctor," or **al-Mu'allimu'th-Thání**, "the Second Great Teacher") was born in August, A.D. 980, in a village near Bukhárá, where he received his earlier education, the philosopher an-Nátílí and the physician 'Ísá ibn Yahyá being amongst his teachers. At the early age of 17 he achieved medical renown by his successful treatment of the Sámánid prince Núh ibn Manšúr (reigned A.D. 976-997). On his father's death, when he was about 21 years of age, he went to Khwárazm, the circumstances of his departure from which are described in Anecdote XXXVI. Attracted to Ṭabaristán by the fame of Qábús ibn Washmgir, he arrived there, as he himself says¹, only to find that that talented but unfortunate prince had been deposed and cast into prison, where he was soon afterwards murdered (403/1012-3). Avicenna subsequently became minister to Shamsu'd-Dawla at Hamadán, where he suffered disgrace and imprisonment, but presently escaped to Isfahán, and entered the service of 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Abú Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Dushmanziyár of the so-called Kákawayhid dynasty², for whom he wrote his Persian Encyclopaedia of the Sciences called in his honour *Dánish-náma-i-'Alá'í*³. He died of colic on the march to Hamadán (where his tomb still exists) in 428/1037, at the age of 58 lunar years, after a short illness for which he treated himself with less than his usual success, so that it was said of him by a contemporary satirist⁴:-

رَأَيْتُ ابْنَ سِينَا يُعَادِي الرِّجَالَ وَ بِالْحَيْسِ مَاتَ أَحْسَ الْمَمَاتِ
فَلَمْ يُشَفْ مَا نَالَهُ بِالشِّفَا وَ لَمْ يَنْجُ مِنْ مَوْتِهِ بِالنَّجَاتِ

"I saw Ibn Síná (Avicenna) contending with men, but he died in prison (or, of constipation) the most ignoble death;
"What he attained by the *Shifá* (or, by healing) did not secure his health, nor did he escape death by his *Naját* (or 'Deliverance')."

In these verses there are three ingenious word-plays, for *ḥabs* means both "imprisonment" and "constipation," while two of his most famous works are entitled *Shifá* ("Healing") and *Naját* ("Deliverance").

Besides his medical and philosophical works, Avicenna wrote a good deal of fine poetry in Arabic and a few quatrains (some of which are often ascribed to 'Umar-i-Khayyám) in Persian. The latter have been collected by the late Dr Hermann Ethé⁵, and of the former a considerable number are given by Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a⁶. Of his beautiful Arabic *qaṣída* on the descent of the soul into the body a translation will be found in vol. ii of my *Literary History of Persia* (pp. 110-111). Another remarkable *qaṣída*⁷ ascribed to him foretells with extraordinary prevision the Mongol invasion, the sack of Baghdád, the murder of the Caliph,

¹ See the note on p. 79, l. 23 of the text (Persian notes, pp. 250-251).

² See S. Lane-Poole's *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 145.

³ See Rieu's *Persian Catalogue*, pp. 433-434. A lithographed edition of this book was published at Haydarábád in the Deccan in 1309/1891-2.

⁴ See Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a's *Ṭabaqát*, vol. ii, p. 6.

⁵ *Avicenna als persischer Lyriker* in the *Göttinger Nachrichten* for 1875, pp. 555-567.

⁶ Vol. ii, pp. 10-18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-18.

and the victory of the Egyptians led by Quṭuz al-Maliku'l-Muẓaffar over the Tartars at 'Ayn Jálút in A.D. 1260, these predictions being based on astrological considerations connected with the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Capricorn "the Mansion of Saturn." Another poem contains medical advice as to the treatment of an ulcer on the forehead addressed to the Wazīr Abú Ṭálib al-'Alawí, who had consulted Avicenna on this subject, in similar verses¹. There are also some remarkable verses in praise of wine, which is compared to "blood of gold," the Christian Trinity, and the First Cause. His literary activity was prodigious and varied, extending to almost every branch of letters and learning, as may be seen by glancing at the lists of his works given by Ibn Abí Uṣaybi'a² and Brockelmann. Of these only three are specifically mentioned in the *Chahár Maqála*, namely the *Kitábu'l-Mabda'wa'l-Ma'ad*, quoted by Mirzá Muḥammad³ from the British Museum MS.; the book entitled "How to guard against various mistakes in medical treatment," printed at Búláq in the margins of ar-Rázi's *Manáfi'u'l-aghdhíya wa daf'u maḍárri-há* under the title of *Daf'u'l-maḍárri'l-kullíyya 'an'l-'abdáni'l-insániyya*⁴; and the *Qánún*, the largest and most famous of Avicenna's medical writings. In the preparation of the FitzPatrick lectures on "Arabian Medicine" which I delivered at the Royal College of Physicians in November 1919 and 1920, and which will I hope be published in the course of 1921, I made use of the fine but not very correct edition printed at Rome in A.D. 1593, but there is also a Búláq edition in two volumes. A good account of the various editions and Latin translations will be found in Dr Ludwig Choulant's *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die Ältere Medicin* (Leipzig, 1841), pp. 359-368. See also Moritz Steinschneider's *Die Europäischen Übersetzungen aus dem Arabischen bis Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts*⁵ in the Index s.v. "Avicenna."

In Anecdote XXXVIII the narrator, Abú Kálanjár, mentions four other disciples of Avicenna, concerning three of whom Mirzá Muḥammad gives some valuable information in the Persian notes on pp. 100-101. Bahmanyár's full name was Abul-Ḥasan Bahmanyár ibn Marzubán al-Ádharbayjání al-Majúsi, and he died in 458/1066. A few of his writings exist in manuscript, and two of his metaphysical treatises were printed at Leipzig in A.D. 1851. Abú Maṣṣúr al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Zíla al-Iṣfahání died in 440/1048-9. The assertion that he was a Zoroastrian is unsupported by evidence, and, in view of the names of his father and grandfather, appears very improbable⁶. There exist in the British Museum MSS. of two of his treatises, one on Music, entitled *al-Káfi* (Or. 2361), and the other a Commentary on Avicenna's *Story of Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓán*.

Far more important than these two was Abú 'Ubayd Abdu'l-Wáhid ibn Muḥammad al-Júzáni, who first became acquainted with Avicenna in Jurján in 403/1012-3⁷. Avicenna was then about thirty-two years old, and

¹ Vol. ii, p. 14.

² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 18-20.

³ See p. 11. of the Persian notes.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

⁵ Published in two parts with separate pagination in the *Sitzungsberichte d. Kais. Akad. d. Wissensch.* (Philos.-histor. Klasse), Vienna, 1904 and 1905.

⁶ Compare, however, note 2 at the foot of p. 154 *supra*.

⁷ Mirzá Muḥammad has established this date from the writings of both Avicenna and al-Júzáni. See Persian notes, pp. 103-104 *ad calc.*

al-Júzjání was thenceforth constantly with him until his death in 428/1037, always urging him to record his knowledge in books while he lived, and preserving these writings from destruction after his death. For Avicenna, as recorded in the *Chahár Maqála* (p. 92 *supra*), distracted by the rival claims of learning, pleasure and statecraft, enjoyed little leisure and tranquillity, and when he wrote a book would often give the original to the person who had asked him to write it without keeping a copy for himself. After his death al-Júzjání sought out these scattered writings wherever they could be found and arranged and edited them, while in other cases he actually assisted in their composition. Thus the *Dánish-náma-i-'Alá'í*¹, Avicenna's most important Persian work, composed for and dedicated to 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Abú Ja'far Kákúya, was designed to treat of Logic, Metaphysics, Natural Science, Mathematics, Astronomy, Music and Arithmetic; but after his death only the first three sections could be found. The missing portions were therefore compiled and translated by al-Júzjání from the *Shifá* and other Arabic works of his master, and the lacuna thus filled. We also owe to al-Júzjání the continuation of Avicenna's autobiography from the time of their first meeting in Jurján down to his death. The full text of this is given by Ibn Abí Uşaybi'a² and an abridgement of it by al-Qiftí³.

11. Sayyid Isma'il Jurjání.

This is probably the first Muslim physician who used the Persian language chiefly or exclusively in writing on scientific subjects, or at least the first whose works have come down to us. He gives his name and genealogy as follows in the Introduction to his *Dhakhira-i-Khwárazmsháhi*⁴:—Isma'il ibnu'l-Hasan ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī al-Jurjání. Fonahn⁵ gives his father's name as Aḥmad instead of al-Hasan, his *laqab* as Zaynu'd-Dín, and his *kunya* as Abú Ibráhīm; while Rieu⁶ transposes Muḥammad and Aḥmad in his pedigree; and Leclerc⁷ calls him Abu'l-Faḍá'il and Sharafu'd-Dín. Little is known of his life except that he came to Khwárazm (Khiva) and entered the service of Quṭbu'd-Dín Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh in 504/1110–1111, composed the four medical works (*Aghrád*, *Dhakhira*, *Khuffi* and *Yádgár*) mentioned in the *Chahár Maqála*, and died at Merv in or about the year 531/1136–7.

The contents of the *Aghrádu't-Tibb* ("Aims of Medicine"), composed for the Minister of Atsiz Khwárazmsháh (reigned A.D. 1127–1156), and the manuscripts of it existing in different libraries are fully described by Fonahn⁸, as are the *Khuffi-i-'Alá'í*⁹ (composed in A.D. 1113) and the *Yádgár-i-Tibb* ("Medical Memoranda")¹⁰, which deals with Pharmaco-

¹ As already noted, the text was lithographed in India in 1309/1891–2, but is rare. Mr A. G. Ellis most kindly placed his copy at my disposal. Mirzá Muḥammad mentions two MSS. in the British Museum, viz. Add. 16,830 and Add. 16,659, ff. 258^b–342^b, and there is another, Or. 16,830. See Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, pp. 433–434.

² *Tabaqātu'l-Atibbá*, ii, pp. 4–9.

³ Pp. 417–426 of Lippert's edition.

⁴ In an old thirteenth century MS. of Books I–III of this work in my possession.

⁵ *Zur Quellenkunde d. Pers. Med.*, p. 129.

⁶ *Pers. Cat.*, p. 466.

⁷ *Hist. de la Médecine Arabe*, vol. ii, pp. 18–20.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, No. 16, pp. 11–13.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 39, p. 35.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 280, p. 105.

logy and Therapeutics. These I have not seen, and they are completely overshadowed by his *magnum opus* the *Dhakhira-i-Khwárazmsháhi*, or "Thesaurus of Khwárazmsháh," of which I have collected several fine manuscripts and which I have studied with some care. Before speaking of it, however, I must observe that the *Khuffi* was so called from *khuff*, a boot, because it was written in two elongated narrow volumes, one of which the traveller could carry in each of his riding-boots, and that its name is not *Khafi* ("Hidden," "Secret"), as stated by Fonahn and Leclerc¹.

The general contents of the *Dhakhira-i-Khwárazmsháhi* are pretty fully stated by Fonahn², and in particular the contents of Book IX, dealing with poisons and antidotes, bites and stings of animals, etc. He also enumerates the MSS. of the work, which has never been published in the original Persian, though an Urdú translation has been lithographed in India. The complete work, of which I possess one manuscript, while another, wanting only a few leaves, and bearing the class-mark **Mm. 2. 6**, is preserved in the Cambridge University Library, originally comprised 9 Books³, 75 Discourses, 1107 chapters, and 450,000 words. I also possess three fine old MSS., transcribed in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, containing portions of the work, viz. (1) Books I, II and part of III; (2) Book III, Maqála iv, Bakhsh 1 to the end of Book V; (3) Book VI, Guftár xi to the end. I also possess a more modern MS. of the whole work, and another of the whole of Book VI, Guftárs i-xxi. I have discussed this book more fully in my FitzPatrick lectures, delivered before the Royal College of Physicians in November 1919 and 1920, which are now in the press, so that I need say no more of it in this place.

Note XXVIII.

Jámi's rhymed versions of Anecdotes XXXIV (Text, p. 73) and XXXVIII (Text, pp. 82-4) in the *Silsilat-u'dh-Dhahab*.

(The text is taken from a MS. dated 997/1589 in my own possession, and Or. 425, ff. 75^b and 76^a in the Cambridge University Library.)

Anecdote XXXIV.

حکایت آن طبیب دانا که آفت زده را بی وجود اسباب معالجه کرد
و بی دستیاری آلات و ادوات از تنگنای مرض بیرون آورد

بیکی از ملوک سامانی داشت دوران طبیبی ارزانی
در همه کارها باو همدم در همه رازها باو محرم
دادیش در حضور خود پیوست نبض جمعی مخدرات بدست
روزی از گفت و گوی خلق خلاص بود با او درون خلوت خاص

¹ Mírzá Muḥammad has pointed out to me that, as we learn from Qiftí (p. 80) and Ibn Abi Uṣaybi'a (i, p. 201), one of Ishāq ibn Hunayn's works was similarly entitled *Kunūshu'l-Khuff*, and that Sayyid Isma'il probably got the idea from him.

² *Op. cit.*, No. 15, pp. 7-11.

³ Book X on Compound Medicaments was subsequently added by the author.

پای نا محرمان از انجا پی، نامه مجرمان از آنجا طی،
 ناگه آمد کنیزکی چون ماه، خوان بکف پیش شاه گشت دوتاه،
 تا نهد خوانِ خوردنی بزمین، ریخت خلطی بپشتِ او ز کمین،
 الف قامتش چو دال بماند، خم چو پیران دیرسال بماند،
 کرد چندانکه زور راست نشد، پشتِ او همچنانکه خواست نشد،
 گفت با آن حکیم شاه کریم، کای شفا بخشِ هر مزاج سقیم،
 هم درین دم گشای دستِ علاج، واهانش ازین فسادِ مزاج،
 ماند حیران حکیم چون اسباب، بود بهر علاجِ او نایاب،
 دست زد معجزش ز فرق کشید، جامه‌اش را ز پیش و پس بدرید،
 از ازارش کشاد بندِ ازار، کرد بیرونش از سُرین شلوار،
 غرقه شد زان خجالت اندر خوی، خلط بکداخت در مفصلِ وی،
 قامتِ خود ز سرو بستان راست، کرد و آزاد از زمین بر خاست،
 در طبیبی چو نیک ماهر بود، پیشِ او سرِ کار ظاهر بود،
 چون بماند از علاجِ جسمانی، دست زد در علاجِ روحانی،

Anecdote XXXVIII.

معالجه کردنِ شیخ ابو علی سینا آن صاحبِ ماخلوبارا که طبیبان
 از معالجهٔ وی عاجز بودند،

بود در عهد بو علی سینا، آن بگننهٔ اصولِ طبِ بینا،
 ز آل بویه یکی ستوده خصال، شد ز ماخلوبیا پریشان حال،
 بانگ میزد که کم بود در ده، هیچ گاه بسانِ من فربه،
 آشپز گر پزد هریسه ز من، گرددش گنج سیمِ کیسه ز من،
 زود باشید و حلقِ من بُرید، بدکانِ هریسه پز سپرید،
 صبح تا شام حالِ او این بود، با حریفانِ مقالِ او این بود،
 نگذشتی ز روز و شب دانگی، که چو گاوِان نبودیش بانگی،
 که بزودی بکارد یا خنجر، بگشیدم که می شوم لاغر،
 تا بجائی رسید کو نه غذا، خوردی از دستِ هیچ کس نه دوا،
 اهلِ طب راهِ عجز بسپردند، استغاثه ببو علی بردند،
 گفت سویش قدم زنید ز راه، مؤده گویان که بامداد پگاه،

میرسد بهر گُشتنت بشتاب، دشنه در دست خواجه قصاب،
رفت ازین مؤده زو گرانیها، کرد اظهار شادمانیها،
بامدادان که بو علی بر خاست، شد سوی منزلش که گاو کجاست،
آمد و خُفت در میان سرای، که منر گاو هان و هان پیش آی،
بو علی دست و پاش سخت بیست، کارد بر کارد تیز کرد و نشست،
بُرد قصاب وار دست سویش، دید هنجار پُشت و پهلویش،
گفت کین گاو لاغرست هنوز، مصلحت نیست گُشتنش امروز،
چند روزیش بر علف بندید، یک زمانش گرسنه میسندید،
تا چو فربه شود برانر تیغ، نبُود ذبح او فسوس و دریغ،
دست و پایش ز بند بگشادند، خوردنیهاش پیش بنهادند،
هرچه دادندش از غذا و دوا، همه را خورد بی خلاف و ابا،
تا چو گاووان از آن شود فربه، شد خود او از خیال گاوی به

Note XXIX. The Ma'múní Khwárazmsháhs.

(Text, p. 76; Persian notes, pp. 194 and 241-4.)

This older dynasty of Khwárazmsháhs was originally tributary to the Sámánids, but, during the interval (A.H. 380-407 = A.D. 990-1016) which separated the decay of these latter rulers from the final ascendancy of the House of Ghazna, it enjoyed a quasi-independence. The following are those of its rulers whose names occur in history.

1. *Ma'mún ibn Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh.*

He was originally governor of Gurgánj (Jurjániyya), and in 385/995 captured and killed Abú 'Abdilláh Khwárazmsháh, the lord of Káth, and annexed his realms. He himself died in 387/997¹. He was succeeded by his son—

2. *'Alí ibn Ma'mún ibn Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh,*

who succeeded his father in the year last mentioned and married the sister of Sultán Maḥmúd of Ghazna. Avicenna came to Khwárazm during his reign, and met with much honour at his hands². The date of his death is not exactly known. Abú'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad as-Suhaylí, a great patron of learning, to whom Avicenna dedicated at least two of his works³, was Minister to him and afterwards to his brother and successor—

¹ Ibnu'l-Athír, vol. ix, pp. 76 and 93.

² Al-Qifti, p. 417.

³ See p. ۲۴۲ of the Persian notes. He fled from Khwárazm to Baghdád in 404/1013-4 and died in 418/1027 at Surra-man-ra'a.

3. *Abu'l-'Abbás Ma'mún ibn Ma'mún ibn Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh*, the hero of Anecdote XXXVI, who was likewise a generous friend to men of learning, and, like his brother, was married to one of Sulṭán Maḥmúd's sisters. He continued for some time on friendly terms with this ambitious potentate, who, however, finally ordered him to recognize him as his over-lord and insert his name in the *khutba*. This Abu 'l-'Abbás Ma'mún consented to do, but after the departure of the envoy to Ghazna his nobles rose and murdered him in 407/1016-7 when he was only thirty-two years of age.

4. *Abu'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad ibn 'Alí ibn Ma'mún ibn Muḥammad Khwárazmsháh.*

He succeeded to the throne on the murder of his uncle, but no long while had elapsed when Sulṭán Maḥmúd, on the pretext of avenging his murdered brother-in-law, invaded and annexed Khwárazm and carried off as hostages or captives the survivors of the family. This happened in 408/1017-8, and the event was celebrated by 'Unsurí in a *qaṣida* of which the opening lines are quoted by the editor¹. The historian Abu 'l-Faḍl-i-Bayhaqí in his *Ta'rikh-i-Mas'údí*² gives an account of these events based on a lost work of Abú Rayḥán al-Bírúní's on the "Notables of Khwárazm" (*Masháḥir-i-Khwárazm*). From this it appears that al-Bírúní spent seven years (A.H. 400-407 = A.D. 1010-1017) at the Court of Abu'l-'Abbás, where he held various offices, and was conversant with all the circumstances which led up to his death.

In conclusion Mirzá Muḥammad observes that the Qāḍí Aḥmad-i-Ghaffári, probably misled by the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida* (p. 389 of the Gibb *facsimile*), in his *Nusakh-i-Jahán-ará* confuses the dynasty discussed in this note with the Farighúní family who acted as viceroys first for the Sámánids and then for the Ghaznawís in Júzján.

Note XXX. Sháhinsháh 'Alá'u'd-Dawla.

(Text, p. 82; Persian notes, p. 251.)

The Amír 'Alá'u'd-Dawla Ḥusámu'd-Dín Abú Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Dushmanziyár ruled over Iṣfahán and the adjacent districts from 398/1007-8 to 433/1041-2, in which latter year he died. His father Dushmanziyár was the maternal uncle of Sayyida, the spirited mother of Majdu'd-Dawla³ ibn Fakhru'-Dawla, the Daylamí or Buwayhid prince, and since in the Daylamí dialect "*Kákú*," or "*Kákúya*" signifies "uncle," he is often called by this title, and his son 'Alá'u'd-Dawla by the title of "*Ibn Kákúya*," while the dynasty to which they belonged is called by S. Lane-Poole⁴ "*Kákwayhid*."

¹ Persian notes, p. 212.

² Tíhrán lith. ed., pp. 663-677; Cairo ed. of 'Utbí's history with Maníní's commentary, p. 258. Yáqút in his "Dictionary of Learned Men" (vol. vi, p. 311 of the Gibb edition) mentions amongst al-Bírúní's works a *Kutbu'l-Musámara fí Akhbári Khwárazm*, which, as Mirzá Muḥammad points out, is probably identical with this work. He suggests, indeed, with great probability, that Bayhaqí's *Masháḥir* (مشاهير) is probably a corrupt reading for *Musámara* (مسامرة).

³ See pp. 43-44 of my edition of Dawlatsháh.

⁴ *Mohammadan Dynasties*, p. 145. See also the references at the foot of p. 201 of the Persian notes.

In this Anecdote (XXXVIII) two errors occur, for Avicenna acted as Minister to Shamsu'd-Dawla ibn Fakhru'd-Dawla (brother of the above-mentioned Majdu'd-Dawla) at Hamadán, not to 'Alá'u'd-Dawla, whom he never served in this capacity, and who, moreover, lived not at Ray, but at Isfahán, whither Avicenna went to attach himself to his Court in 412/1021-2 on the death of Shamsu'd-Dawla and the accession of his son Samá'u'd-Dawla.

Note XXXI. The Shaykh 'Abdu'lláh Anşárí.

(Text, p. 84; Persian notes, pp. 255-8.)

The Shaykhu'l-Islám Abú Isma'íl 'Abdu'lláh ibn Abí Manşúr Muḥammad...al-Anşárí al-Khazrají al-Hirawí traced his pedigree to Abú Ayyúb, a well-known companion of the Prophet. He was born on Sha'bán 2, 396 (May 4, 1006), and died towards the end of A.H. 481 (March, 1088). He was a notable traditionist and theologian, and, in spite of his fanatical attachment to the narrow and anthropomorphic doctrines of the Ḥanbalí school and his hatred of philosophers, who stood in terror of him, was accounted a leading Šúfí. In Persia he is generally known as Khwāja 'Abdu'lláh Anşárí. In his Persian poems and quatrains, which are highly esteemed and have been repeatedly lithographed in Persia, he calls himself Anşárí, Pír-i-Anşár, and Pír-i-Hirí. The prayers (*Munáját*) which he composed in Persian are also greatly admired. He used to lecture on the lives of the Saints, taking as his text the *Ṭabaqátu's-Súfiyya* of as-Sulamí, and adding observations of his own. One of his disciples took down these lectures in the ancient language of Herát, and on this version Jámí based his well-known Hagiography the *Nafahátu'l-Uns*¹. Of his numerous works there still exist, besides those already mentioned, a condemnation of Scholastic Philosophy (*Dhammu'l-Kalám*) in Arabic², a less rare treatise in the same language entitled *Manázilu's-Sá'irín ilá'l-Haqqi'l-Mubín*, and in Persian a tract entitled *Zádu'l-'Arifín*³; and another, of which extracts are preserved⁴, called the "Book of Mysteries" (*Kitáb-i-Asrár*).

Mírzá Muḥammad gives, on the authority of the historian adh-Dhahabí, two narratives of attempts to discredit the Shaykh made by the philosophers whom he persecuted. On one occasion, when Sultán Alp Arslán the Saljúq and his great Minister Nizámu'l-Mulk visited Herát, they asked him why he cursed Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arí, whose doctrines the Nizámu'l-Mulk professed. After some hesitation he replied, "I do not recognize al-Ash'arí; him only I curse who does not believe that God is in Heaven." On another occasion they produced a little copper image, which, as they told the King, Anşárí's anthropomorphism led him to worship, but he, being summoned and accused, so vehemently denied this calumny that the King, convinced of his innocence, dismissed him with honour and punished his detractors.

¹ See pp. 1-3 of Nassau Lees's edition of this work. Mírzá Muḥammad informs me that a MS. of these lectures in their ancient original form exists in the Núr-i-'Uthmáníyya Library at Constantinople, and that M. Louis Massignon shewed him the copy he had made of the portion referring to the celebrated Šúfí al-Ḥalláj. I suppose that this is the MS. (No. 2500) to which M. Massignon refers in his striking work on the *K'itábu'l-Tawásin* of al-Ḥalláj (Paris, 1913), p. 94, n. 4 *ad calc.*

² Add. 27,520 of the British Museum.

³ Rieu's *Pers. Cat.*, p. 738.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 774.

**XXXII. Additional Note by Mr W. Gornold on the
"Part of the Unseen" and other Astrological terms.**

"It appears to me quite patent that all theories as to what the Part of the Unseen may be are dispelled by the text of your work which clearly gives the rule (p. 131 *supra*):

"As for the Part of the Unseen, by day they compute it from the Moon and by night from the Sun, adding thereto the degree of the Ascendant, and subtracting thirty (for) each (whole sign) from the Ascendant, as before: then what remains over is the place of the Part of the Unseen."

"In the case cited, 28 Safar, A.H. 511 (1 July, A.D. 1117), the time of birth being New Moon (here shown to be at 5.32 p.m. local mean time) when both the luminaries were above the horizon, we have to deal with a day horoscope. Therefore we count from the Moon's place to that of the Sun, which is twelve whole Signs and nothing over. The Part of the Unseen must therefore be on the Ascendant, and this must be the case at the time of every New Moon, whether it happens by day or by night. Only we have to note that as the Moon separates from the Sun the Part of Fortune is carried from the Ascendant downward to the nadir, while the Part of the Unseen is carried upward towards the midheaven, and this converse motion goes forward in each case at the rate of about 12 degrees per day until they meet again, this time in *opposition* to the Ascendant, at the full of Moon.

"I had the pleasure of seeing Mr Shirley yesterday and conferred with him in regard to his use of the term 'Alcochoden' as synonymous with 'Hyleg' or *Hayláj*, and he informed me that he derived his information from Wilson's *Dictionary of Astrology*, a work of which I am extremely suspicious, as on many occasions I have found that he treats of subjects about which he has evidently no practical experience. But I think the matter must be settled by reference to some of the Arabic or Persian works in which the term is used. The context would undoubtedly give any astrological student the clue to interpretation. If, as I think, Alcochoden is Ruler of the 12th House then its influence would be associated in the text with enemies, capture, imprisonment, *etc.*, which would clearly indicate its evil repute, while Almuten, conversely, would be associated with friends and supporters, favours and wishes granted, *etc.*, indicating its beneficent influence. Probably you can turn up some reference in support, or otherwise, of this view. I hope so."

"P. 6, l. 4. 'The four subservient forces' appear to answer to mental as well as physical processes thus:

The 'Force Attractive'	=	Absorption = Perception,
„ 'Force Retentive'	=	Circulation = Cogitation,
„ 'Force Assimilative'	=	Secretion = Memory,
„ 'Force Expulsive'	=	Excretion = Expression.

"P. 63, ll. 1 and 3. The *Almagest* of Claudius Ptolemy appears, from observations recorded by him, to have been compiled about the year A.D. 140, for it contains no account of observations made after the

year A.D. 138. It was translated into Arabic in the ninth century by command of the Caliph Al-Ma'mûn. Persian, Hebrew, and Greek versions are also mentioned. The best English translation is that of Ashmand. Ptolemy's astrological work, the *Tetrabiblos*, or *Quadrupartite*, is a standard work on the subject in general use among modern students. The *Almagest*, *Syntaxis* and *Tetrabiblos* are works of extreme interest to astronomers and students of astrology.

"P. 67, l. 23. The 'Part of Fortune,' depending on the elongation of the Moon referred to the Ascendant of the horoscope, would of course be on the Ascendant at the time of New Moon. At First Quarter it is on the nadir, at Full Moon on the descendant, at the Last Quarter on the midheaven. Some authors compute its place by longitude in the Zodiac and others by oblique ascension or descension. The rule of Ptolemy is that it corresponds with the place held by the Moon at the time of sunrise, but he does not say whether it is local or equatorial sunrise, nor whether the 'place' of the moon is to be taken by longitude, right ascension, or oblique ascension.

"P. 67, l. 21. July 1st, A.D. 1117 is equivalent to Şafar 28, A.H. 511. This appears evident from reference to other dates occurring in the course of your pages.

* "This date, July 1st, is O.S. and corresponds with July 8th N.S.

"By adding 760 years (or 40 cycles of 19 years each) to the date 1117 we get equivalent year of cycle A.D. 1877, and to the date we must add two days due to the omission of leap year days in the 12th and 16th century-years, which brings us to July 10th, 1877, when it is seen that there was a New Moon. Hence the date is correctly taken.

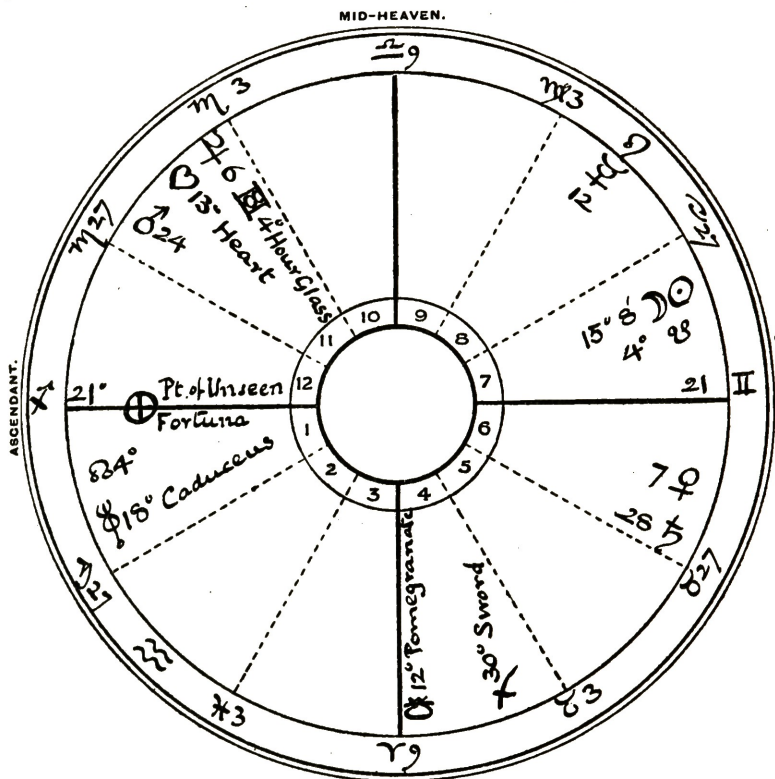
"As to the 'Part of the Unseen,' this appears from the context to be derived from a reversal of the method employed for the 'Part of Fortune.' The former is counted from the Moon to the Sun, and the latter from the Sun to the Moon, and the distance in the Zodiac is set off from the Ascendant.

"Unlike all the planetary Points to which I have drawn your attention, and which are determined by their solar elongations, the 'Part of the Unseen' appears to be a lunar Point, determined from the Sun's elongation in respect of the Moon.

"The date of birth having been fixed, we are left to find the time of birth by the reference to the positions of the Sun and Moon, which it is said were so situated that there was no space at all between them. It is not presumed that this was an observation made at the time of birth, but one that was afterwards calculated and found to be correct. The New Moon of Şafar 28, A.H. 511, took place locally in longitude 68° E. at 5.32 p.m. (G.M.T. 1 o'clock) when the luminaries were in ecliptic conjunction in Cancer 15° 8'. The Moon was then only about 11° past the S. Node, and therefore had about 57' of S. latitude. It was a partial eclipse of the Sun. The fact that this is not mentioned goes to prove that the calculation was retrogressive and that the observation was not made at the time of birth.

"The following is the horoscope set for lat. 35° N. and long. 68° E. The planets' places are put into the nearest whole degree. I do not

know what symbol was used for the 'Part of the Unseen,' and if it occurs in any of the works to which you have access, I should be glad to have it. The others, belonging to the planets, I have put in according to their traditional use among the moderns. To these we have recently added the Lightning Flash, due to Uranus, and the Web or Grille due to Neptune. They are found in the same way as the others, by the planet's distance from the Sun in the order of the signs.



The Map of the Heavens

Date 1 July, A.D. 1117; Hour 5.32 p.m. (local); Long. 68° E., Lat. 35° N.

"The symbol for the 'Part of the Unseen,' when found, should be placed on the Ascendant with Fortuna, and the figure will then be complete. I do not think that it will be found very far out of the true, but I am of course relying on Lunation Tables which are not quite up to date. The secular equation due to these may be as much as 5 minutes for seven centuries, as they were constructed about A.D. 1800, and are here applied to a date about 700 years previous.

"P. 64, l. 22, and pp. 130-131. *Khaby* and *Damir*—The Hindus have systems of horary astrology, called *Salyana* and *Arudha*, by which they are able to determine what is hidden and where lost property may

be found. Things held in the hand concealed have often been well described to me by Indian *Jyoshis*.

“‘Hyleg’ or *Hayláj*—This term is in common use among astrological students, and the rules for finding it are contained in Ptolemy’s work on Astrology, and also in Placidus de Titus’¹ ‘Primum Mobile.’ Both these authorities differ from the Arabic authors in their method of location.

“P. 132, l. 17. ‘Exaltation.’ The planets, also the Sun and Moon, are held to be ‘exalted’ in certain Signs, and especially in certain degrees of those signs. Thus the Sun is ‘exalted’ in the sign Aries and the 19th degree thereof. ‘Altitude’² is an astronomical term which signifies distance above the horizon and should preferably not be used in this connection.

“The term *Almuten* refers to the Planet which has dominion in the 11th House, or the House of Friends and Allies. *Alchocoden* or *Alcochoden* (whichever may be the correct form) refers to the planet which has dominion in the 12th House, or House of Enemies. It has not any connection with the Hyleg, as Mr Shirley seems to think.

“The term *Kad-khuddá* (Lord of the House) refers to the Planet which rules the Sign in which the Hyleg is found at birth. Thus if the Sun were so qualified as Hyleg and were in the sign Scorpio, then the planet Mars would be the *Kad-khuddá*.

¹ Mr Gornold sends me the following note: “Of Placidus de Titus, who first rendered a studied version of Ptolemy’s work on Astrology, we have very little information. It appears that he was known as Didacus Placidus, and was a native of Bologna, became a monk, and was appointed mathematician to the Archduke Leopold of Austria. He wrote in the early part of the seventeenth century a work entitled the ‘Primum Mobile,’ in which he gives a thorough digest of the teaching of Ptolemy. The best English translation is by Cooper. Placidus showed that Ptolemy recognized two sets of directions arising out of two sets of planetary positions, one in the Zodiac and the other in the World, *i.e.* in the prime vertical. To Placidus remains the credit of having elaborated that part of directional Astrology which has regard to all directions *in mundo*.”

² I originally translated *Sharaf* by this term, but have corrected it according to Mr Gornold’s suggestion.

GENERAL INDEX

In this Index I have followed the same plan as that adopted in my *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*. Where numerous references occur under one heading the more important are printed in **Clarendon** type, which is also used for the first entry under each letter of the alphabet, and for headings under which two or more homonymous persons are grouped together, either in chronological order, or in order of importance, or in classes (rulers, men of learning, poets, etc.). The letter **b.** between two names stands for Ibn ("Son of..."), and **n.** after the number of a page indicates a foot-note. The addition in parentheses of a number after a name, book, battle, or the like, indicates, if Roman, the century, if Arabic, the year of the Christian era in which the man was born (**b.**), flourished (**f.**) or (**d.**) died, or in which the book was written or the battle fought. Prefixes like **Abú** ("Father of...") and **Ibn** ("Son of...") in Muhammadan, and **de**, **le**, **von** in European names are disregarded in the alphabetical arrangement, so that names like **Abú Sa'id**, **Ibn Síná**, **le Strange**, **de Slane**, etc., must be sought under **S**, and **von Kremer** under **K**. Titles of books and foreign words are printed in *italics*, and an asterisk is prefixed to the former when they are quoted at any length in the translation or notes. A hyphen preceding a word indicates that the Arabic definite article **al-** should be prefixed to it.

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